THE SPECIFIC EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITIES

IN RELATION TO

AFRICA AND ASIA

Record of a Consultation, Odense, Denmark,

August 8-11, 1958

(Private Document - Not to be Republished Without Permission)

Department on Church and Society

Division of Studies

World Council of Churches

Geneva, Switzerland

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THE NEED FOR A CONVERSATION

(Introduction)

One of the main topics in the present World Council of Churches study on The Common Christian Responsibilities Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change is "The Impact of the West". Throughout the study it has been emphasized that rapid social change in Africa, Asia and Latin America raises questions not only for Christians of these continents but also for Christians in the West.

Discussions of the cultural, economic and political impact of the West have taken place in France, Germany, Holland, Scotland, the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand and Australia. However, despite this real interest and with a few exceptions, the Western churches have responded very slowly to the challenge of rapid social change. A real conversation between the churches of the West and the churches in Africa and Asia on the problems of social change has not yet begun.

To help call more attention to Western responsibilities, the World Council's Department on Church and Society, in collaboration with various European church groups, sponsored a consultation in Denmark, August 8-11, 1958, on The Specific European Responsibilities in Relation to Asia and Africa. This four day consultation, attended by 70 persons, including European theologians, missionary leaders and laymen, provided an excellent opportunity for European Christians to discuss this topic with a group of their fellow-Christians from Africa and Asia. A group of American church leaders also participated as observers.

The Consultation discussed four topics:

I.   The European Church and the Political Involvement of Europe in Africa and Asia:

    A.   The problems of transition from colonialism to new relationships.

    B.   The role of European churches and missions in the present situation.

II.   The social and cultural impact of Europe upon Asia and Africa.

III. The ethical problems of European private enterprise and industry operating in the areas of rapid social change.

IV.   The responsibilities of Europe to provide developmental assistance in the countries of Asia and Africa.

Papers were presented on these topics by speakers representing different churches and countries in Europe, followed by discussions beginning with a critique from Asian and African participants. The bulk of these papers is reproduced in this report.

While there was not time to discuss in detail many of the issues

raised it was decided to prepare an official statement summarizing the main points of the debate, and this also is included in this record.

One point emerges very clearly from these discussions. The churches of the West are far from understanding the depth and breadth of the hesitations of the peoples of Africa and Asia regarding European intentions and policies toward them. As one European writer on African problems pointed out in a paper referred to at the meeting: "The question confronting Europe is no longer 'What is the Africa like which we need in order to form a Eurafrica in which Africa provides raw materials, cheap labour and markets for Europe?' Today the question should be, 'What should Europe be like if it is to be liked by Africa?'" The churches of Europe have only begun to think about the pattern of a sounder European relationship to the countries which were formerly so much under its political influence. Here indeed is the challenge to Europe in the last half of the twentieth century.

This report is presented therefore not as the conclusion of but as the preparation for a much more intensive and systematic debate regarding the new attitudes and policies which Europe must develop in the coming years. We welcome reactions and comments to this report, hoping that this will be a means of beginning the conversation which is so very much needed if we are to come out of the present period of tension and conflict with new and healthier relations.

Geneva, November 17, 1958

II.

PROGRAMME OF THE CONSULTATION

This consultation was part of the Rapid Social Change study. The following is an outline of topics used in preparation for the meeting. Discussion on each topic opened with preparatory statements by a panel as indicated below. Generally they presented statements based on papers placed in the hands of participants in advance.

I. The European Church and the Political Involvement of Europe in Asia and Africa: An analysis of the Present Situation.

A. The problems of transition from Colonialism to new relationships. A survey and interpretation of European political relations with Asia and Africa since 1918. The challenge of the new situation (since 1946-47) and the divided mind in Europe on these questions. The attempt to find a common European approach.

Preparatory statements: Mr. R. Bonnal, France
Rev. A. Doig, Scotland and Nyasaland
Dr. C.L. Patijn, Holland

B. The role of the European churches and missions in the old situation, in the period of transition and in meeting the challenge of the new situation. The conceptions and practices in missions in relation to the political colonialism of nations.

Preparatory statements: Pastor P. Benignus, France
Prof. H. Gensichen, Germany
Mr. S.C. van Randwijck, Holland
Rev. K. MacKenzie, Scotland
Mr. H. Witschi, Switzerland

II. The social and cultural impact of Europe upon Asia and Africa, through education, literature, cinema, and through the impact of European social philosophies and ideologies. How strong is this impact today and what contribution can Europe make in the new situation?

Preparatory statements: Prof. K. Busia, Ghana
Prof. M. Takenaka, Japan
Father Makary, Egypt
Pastor D. Ralibera, Madagascar

III. The ethical problems of European private enterprise and industry operating in the areas of rapid social change. Possibilities and problems of private European investment and business in the areas of rapid social change. What moral issues are involved for private enterprise in the present period of transition and what is the Christian evaluation of them?

Preparatory statements: Dr. P. Kuin, Holland
Mr. J. Wren-Lewis, United Kingdom

IV. The responsibility of Christians in relation to European programmes
for contributing economic aid and technical assistance to areas of
rapid social change.

What should the churches adopt toward existing national programmes?
Collective European programmes? To what degree should churches
urge increases in these programmes? What relationship should the
present work of churches and missions in this field have to these
national and collective programmes?

        Preparatory statements: Mr. B. Niculescu, United Kingdom & Ghana
                                  Dr. R. Fagley, (C.C.I.A.)
                                  Dr. E. de Vries, Holland

V. Meeting the challenge of Service in the future. (Discussed in 3 groups)*

What is the diaconate of the European churches in relation to:

  a) Their governments' policies toward Asia and Africa?
  b) The outlook of their people?
  c) Their missionary and ecumenical responsibilities?

*At the outset of the consultation three persons were appointed rapporteurs:
Mr. D. Munby, U.K., Prof. H. Pfeffer, Germany, and Pastor P. Benignus,
France, and they chaired the discussion in three groups (a), (b) and (c)
respectively. They selected from the discussions on topics I - IV pertinent points to their topic.

Note: The purpose of this European consultation was to define the issues
that need further study; it was primarily concerned with European
attitudes to Asia and Africa. In order to make the discussion
realistic and ecumenical, Asian and African friends were also invited. A group of American churchmen participated as observers.

7. U.S.A.

Dr. Clifford Earle	Director, Dept. of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Dr. Carl Reuss	Director, Social Commission, American Lutheran Church
Dr. Richard Comfort	Dept. on Rural Church, National Council of Churches
Prof. Wolfgang Stolper	Prof. of Economics, University of Michigan
Dr. Harold Letts	Ass. Ex. Secry., Division of Christian Life and Work, N.C.C., U.S.A.
Dr. Walter Sikes	Prof. of Christian Ethics, Butler University
Miss Irene Jones	Ass. Ex. Secry., Division of Foreign Missions, N.C.C.

8. Japan

Dr. Masao Takenaka	Asst. Prof. of Christian Social Ethics, Doshisha Univ

9. India

Mr. M.M. Thomas	Asian Staff Consultant for W.C.C. Rapid Social Change study
Mr. Richard Taylor	Missionary-Educator, North India
Mr. R.D. Paul	Madras Christian College

10. Pakistan

Dr. Thakur Das	Ex. Secry. West Pakistan Christian Council

11. Middle East

Father Makary El Souriany	Coptic Sunday Schools, Egypt
Miss Huda Butrus	Rural and Village Work, Lebanon

12. West Africa

Dr. K.A. Busia	Prof. of Sociology, University College, Ghana
Mr. Barbu Niculescu	Dept. of Economics, University College, Ghana
Mr. Jean-Claude Ngoh	Student, Cameroon

13. Central Africa

Rev. Andrew Doig, Nyasaland	Rev. Doig is a missionary, and until recently member of the African Affairs Board of the Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland

14. Madagascar

Rev. M.D. Ralibera	Aumônerie des Etudiants Malgaches

15. Latin America

    Mr. Esdras Borges Costa   Instructor, Escola de Sociologia e Politica de Sao Paulo
    Mr. Luis Odell   Executive Secretary, Christian Council of Uruguay
    Mr. Muricio Lopez   Secretary for Latin America, World Student Christian
    Federation

16. Others

    Mr. Robbins Strong   The World Alliance of Y.M.C.As
    Mr. J. Richard Symonds   Technical Assistance Board, United Nations
    Miss Mary-Ann Thung   Assistant to Dr. de Vries, Institute of Social
    Studies, The Hague
    Mr. Horst Birk   Secretary of the Directors Association of the
    Laymen colleges of Europe

17. Staff

    Paul Abrecht   Executive Secretary, Dept. Church and Society, W.C.C.
    Dai Kitagawa   Specialist Assistant for the study on Rapid Social
    Change

18. Other W.C.C. staff or visitors

    Dr. R.S. Bilheimer   Associate General Secretary, Director, Div. of Studies
    Dr. Leslie Cooke   Associate General Secretary, Director, I.C.A.
    Dr. U.H. van Beyma   Secretary for Non-European Areas, Division of
    Interchurch Aid
    Dr. Raymond A. Dudley   Consultant on the Staff of the Division for Countries
    outside Europe
    Dr. R.M. Fagley   C.C.I.A., New York
    Mr. H.R. Weber   Executive Secretary, Department on the Laity
    Mr. Erik Nielsen   Executive Secry., Department of Missionary Studies,
    W.C.C. - I.M.C.
    Dr. Keith Bridston   Executive Secry., Department of Faith and Order

IV.

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION

(The following is an unofficial record of discussion and may not be quoted)

Topic IA: The European Church and the Political Involvement of Europe in Asia and Africa: The transition from colonialism to new political relationships.

There were three speakers on this topic: Mr. R. Bonnal of France, Rev. Andrew B. Doig of Central Africa, and Dr. C.L. Patijn of Holland, who are active in European political or overseas affairs. Each presented short statements on different aspects of the present political relations between Europe and the countries of Asia and Africa which are summarized as follows:

Mr. Doig: (Missionary of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland and until recently European representative of African interests in the Federal Assembly of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland).

I want to speak about the problems of the transition from colonialism to new relationships as this is exemplified in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The importance of this area is seen in the variety of states involved and the official aim and promise that this is designed to be something unique and exciting as a multi-racial state, an example to Africa and to the World.

The three states in this Federation are Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Southern Rhodesia 'was gained by conquest and its penetration was part of Cecil Rhodes' dream of a continuous line of British influence from the Cape to Cairo. This origin of the state in conquest has had its effect on the attitude to the African even to the present day, in the creation of the constitution and in the conception of development. "Equal rights for all civilized men" which was Rhodes' guiding thought can have such restrictive consequences as to ensure a European dominated state or fail to meet the legitimate aspirations of the emerging or emerged African. Much of Southern Rhodesia's thought in the European community has been influenced by South Africa and its practice - land apportionment, separate racial development. The territory was given self-government in 1923 and so the European community naturally feel they have a not inconsiderable experience of governmental responsibility.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Both are Protectorates of the British Crown and to this status the African inhabitants attach very great importance. As against entry by conquest, here there were treaties between the chiefs and the Crown's representatives. The system of indirect rule was seen as a starting point for evolution to self-government. Administration was built on Lord Lugard's claim that Native institutions are themselves of value as agencies of government.

These territories were covered by all the successive declarations on colonial territories. The Devonshire Paper on paramountcy of African interests, the Hilton Young and Bledisloe reports on the possibility of amalgamation

of these states, the Passfield statement on Kenya, all pointed the way to a defined objective of self-government for the territories and indicated that in this the Africans would play a determining role. Dominion status in particular was listed as impossible of attainment until Africans are able to participate in self-governing institutions.

The most obvious lines of comparison in these states was in matters of land and Representation.

1) Land. In Nyasaland, for example, only 5% of the land is alienated and safeguard of African land rights is essential for any scheme of government.

In Southern Rhodesia, the country is now roughly equally divided between the races but a juridical Committee early decided that African rights could not be described as falling into the category of rights of private property.

2) Representation. In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia the system of indirect rule and the use of native institutions as agencies of government, has resulted in a system of representation whereby African Councils act as electoral colleges for choosing communal representatives to the Legislative Council of the territory. The British Government's colonial officers are in control by a majority membership in the Council but they have representatives of the European and African communities for advice, consultation and distribution of information.

In Southern Rhodesia, representation on a Legislative Assembly (independent of the British Government) is by candidates of any race chosen on a common voters roll. By reason of the low income of Africans and the high qualifications required for the Franchise, this roll is overwhelmingly European and no African has ever been elected to the Assembly.

The Scheme of Federation. In this scheme, a compromise was sought. Southern Rhodesia had wanted a unitary form of government, with no outside control to limit the legislative ability and policy making of the Assembly but the United Kingdom government, mindful of its past promises and policies (cf. a former Secretary of State's pronouncement that what the immigrant race may justly demand is partnership and not control) insisted on a Federal scheme. This scheme involved safeguards - to meet the traditional approach of the several territories particularly in methods of representation and to ensure African land rights in the northern territories - and most important of all, created an African Affairs Board to have power to refer to the British Government any measures which in the opinion of the Board were disadvantageous to Africans.

The scheme could scarcely have started with poorer prospects. European opinion was divided while African opinion in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia was solidly in opposition to Federation. The British Government in imposing the scheme declared its belief that the economic advantages flowing from the creation of a larger unit and by association, the states and peoples might move to a new partnership and in the end, 'when the inhabitants so desire' to full independence within the Commonwealth. The details of representation and the relationship of this to population are given here for interest.

S. Rhodesia	European	African	Others	Total representation
	166,000	2,200,000	12,700	
	14	3	-	17
N. Rhodesia	62,000	2,060,000	6,300	
	8	3	-	11
Nyasaland	5,000	2,600,000	9,000	
	4	3	-	7

Various interesting and significant features of this cannot be argued out here nor is it necessary because the crucial point for this study and for the creation of a situation where racial harmony will prevail is to assess to what extent this new state could transcend the historically conflicting lines of development in the territories and demonstrate that something quite new had in fact been created.

Five Years of Federation

The answer to this question in the first five years of Federation is not altogether a hopeful one. To mention but a few points:

1) The creation of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is one of the brightest promises of shared living and learning. It is not subject to Government control. It has the cherished autonomy of the British University system. Certain multi-racial aspects were made a condition of the large grant from the United Kingdom Government. Yet the strong S. Rhodesian limitation to the fully integrated life of the College is present, while in spheres of training under the control of the Federal Government, the old pattern of separate development is seen.

2) In an enlargement of the Federal Assembly membership, and the introduction of a Federal Franchise, the move was made to depart from communal representation for African members in the north and open the franchise to Africans as individually qualifying. The change from the present system of electoral colleges is one that Africans themselves would favour but not if the change involved an extension to the northern territories of the S. Rhodesian system of high qualifications for those choosing the main body of the Parliament and thus resulting in an ineffective African voice. Here too obviously, there was no new vision but the extension of the practice of one of the territories, Southern Rhodesia.

3) In regard to these measures, the African Affairs Board twice ruled them disadvantageous to Africans and was twice overruled by the British Government in favour of the Federal Government. Thus the validity of the safeguards was at stake.

4) Fundamental to the hope of a new order is the trend of liberal thought in Southern Rhodesia. Garfield Todd's total defeat in the recent Southern Rhodesian election gives cause for concern as to whether even his mild liberal measures were far too advanced for the electorate to swallow.

The new Prime Minister's call for the exclusion of the Colonial Office from 1960 onwards in the affairs of any part of the Federation amounts to a provocative act and almost a promise of a show-down with the Protecting Power.

African Nationalism

1) **As Africanism** (Hailey). Some points to note: Colour consciousness has become more developed; influence of movements in Ghana; eagerness of Africans to share in Bandung Conference; drawing together of Africans and Asians due to the ban on Asian immigration to the Federation. But there is more than this.

2) **Nyasaland National Feeling**. African nationalism is partly based on general African consciousness which to a great extent is due to the breakdown of tribal distinctions as a result of war services. Other factors -- increased demand for labour, advanced technical training, European influence, especially through the trade union movement, and the influence of the Church, especially the church schools in which Africans study together with Europeans - have accentuated this sense of nationhood that transcends tribal loyalties. The problem now is the gap that exists between the dream of the educated African and the reality that confronts him. The race discrimination that persists in our society leads him into serious frustration, for on the one hand he is trained for advancement and on the other the door of advancement is constantly shut in his face. Consequently the African thinks that the multi-racial state is nothing but a sham.

If the way should not be readily open, nationalism will turn to fierce opposition or rather will never accept the very idea of a multi-racial state and it is true to say that at no point has the African in the north yet thought of a multi-racial state without suspicion.

The Federation is therefore caught in a conflict arising from the two different colonising theories, unable or unwilling to offer a scheme demonstrably new, and faced with fear as the ruling factor in both communities.

It is not for us here to go into all the details of life and legislation that affect this situation but it is important to note that a) deadlock seems almost certain at the Constitution Review Conference in 1960, b) the crucial decision lies with the British Government, c) the Church cannot stand aside in issues that relate to the value of the individual, the undermining of confidence and the rapid deterioration of race relations.

Some personal comments on the situation

1. It is the African that matters in this situation and the European who has the greater responsibility - for only in this awareness can shared responsibility become real and fruitful. Persons are more important than policies. There is a need for as many contacts as possible across the racial line.

2. Representative government must involve Africans in far larger

participation than now. An African majority must be acknowledged as the only reasonable outcome. The system must not appear to separate off a group of Africans from their fellows.

3. The European power must retain control and hold balance of interests till it is fully satisfied that the prospects of a true self-governing state in partnership is ensured. Thus British public interest and public responsibility is involved.

4. Changes must carry reasonable amount of support from statutory representative bodies of Africans.

5. Partnership must be defined and demonstrated.

The Church in the new relationships

The Church must be ready to express its concern for what is happening to the human spirit and to race relations. It is expected to be at once indigenous in acceptance and service and all inclusive in a fellowship that knows no bounds of race. Noteworthy is the strange yet vital place of the missionary in the Church. He must show he is freed from old patronising attitude and he must use the opportunity to show the signs and spirit of the new role of the European in a multi-racial state.

Mr. Bonnal: (Protestant layman and official in the French Ministry of Overseas Affairs).

I am going to talk on the French Overseas Territories, but chiefly on French West Africa, Cameroon and Madagascar.

There has been an evolution in the relationship between Metropolitan France and Overseas France. Up to World War II the guiding principle in colonization was direct control and administration by the French, the Africans being regarded as wards of the French. Economically the relationship was that of interdependence: The African territories furnished raw materials and France provided manufactured goods.

Since World War II there has been a series of changes in the relationship. After the Brazzaville Conference held shortly after World War II a radical revision of colonial status was put into effect, according to which the African was to become a good Frenchman. A policy looking toward assimilation on an equal basis was adopted, aiming at the full identification of the two parties. There were created: a territorial assembly with universal suffrage, two colleges and an African political party. Forced labour was prohibited, a trade union movement developed, and a labour law similar to that in France was adopted. All these were for the purpose of raising the living standards of the African people. A special fund FIDES was established to promote economic and social development. There have been some good results from this policy but there were also serious defects.

Another change came in 1956. More emphasis was laid on association and far less on assimilation. The autonomy of the overseas territory was considered in a narrow framework but according to which Africans were to organize the territorial government with a minimum of Europeans involved.

People come under two authorities: the territorial and the state service. And due to the emphasis on territorial autonomy, the economic policy is to establish new industries in all the territories so as to make them economically autonomous.

In the thinking about possible common markets between Metropolitan and Overseas France, there exist two tendencies: - 1) to link each territory directly to France and 2) to federate autonomous territories. Political parties have been reconstructed as a step toward realizing territorial autonomy. However, there is still a great deal of dissatisfaction on the part of natives of certain territories. We have learned that de-colonization brings great psychological problems. A referendum will be held on a new constitution next September. Following this a decision will have to be made either to make a department of the overseas territory or to create a federation of autonomous states. At any rate the possibility for a larger French Assembly to develop is foreseen. What "independence" of the territories means is neither clearly stated nor defined.

There are two different and mutually conflicting tendencies in French Africa and Madagascar as well as in Metropolitan France: - 1) Independence first and then federation, namely a confederation of different territories as autonomous states and 2) an Afro-French association on the grounds that France needs Africa as much as Africa needs France. (In France a majority is against the independence of Algeria.)

I personally am confident that the independence of overseas territories would not jeopardize their relations but on the contrary would improve them. This I am sure is the opinion of a majority of French Reformed Church members.

Dr. Patijn: (Protestant layman and member of Dutch Parliament).

I confine my remarks to the political relations of Western Europe with the independent nations of Africa and Asia, with emphasis on Asia and the Middle East. Certain facts must be emphasized as a starting point for discussion:
- The colonial period is gone. Political relations between Western Europe and Afro-Asian countries in this post-colonial period are bad.

- Today European influence has gone in Asia and is declining in Africa. Asian countries are independent but they continue to fight against colonialism and Western domination.

To understand the situation it is necessary to pinpoint the interests which determine the relations between Europe and these countries. Today there are two vital European interests in Afro-Asian countries:
1) political -- to do what is possible to prevent communism from penetrating into Afro-Asian countries.

2) economic -- namely, the oil of the Middle East. Foreign trade in general is not so vital. If it weren't for oil, Europe could get along without Asia and Africa.

The Afro-Asian interest in Europe is also twofold: -

1) political -- full independence, freedom from domination, political and economic.

2) economic and social -- aid from Europe with no political strings attached. (They prefer aid from Europe to avoid dealing either with the USA or Russia).

The above mentioned four factors condition the relationships between Asia and Europe.

There are factors of an emotional nature that complicate the matter still further:

1) On the side of Europe, vestiges of the old imperialism -- what I would call "fits of empire", which really is more an instinctive reaction than a considered opinion. For example, the British reaction to the Cyprus situation, the Suez crisis and Jordan; the Dutch reaction to Indonesia; and the French attitude toward North Africa. (To us who are not Frenchmen, it makes no sense whatsoever that they, being so eager to make Africans independent as Frenchmen, cannot tolerate seeing them become independent as Africans!) Suez is last proof that the imperial period of European history is over.

2) The anti-colonialism of Asia in spite of the end of colonialism: I may call it "the blind spot of anti-colonialism". Asians keep asking for full sovereignty in the nineteenth century sense of the term, but today no nation can possibly be fully sovereign. At the same time they are painfully aware of their economic and technical backwardness and want capital when colonial powers are leaving and capital flow is drying up.

Christian missions often took the side of Afro-Asian nationalism and rightly so. Today, however, the question may be raised: "Is nationalism a sound and relevant motivation?" If not, can Afro-Asian countries skip the period of nationalism, which the West has enjoyed for several centuries? At any rate, nationalism as such is a liability today, not only for international relations but, more seriously, for the African and Asian nations themselves.

What about the threat of communism? It is real and poses a serious question for the Western powers: how to prevent the Afro-Asian countries from falling into the hands of the Communists? Regional military pacts like the Bagdad Pact, NATO and SEATO do not do much good, as events in Iraq have so vividly shown. It is much more to the point to give economic aid to the Afro-Asian countries, which can be done either by bilateral or multilateral agreement. The bilateral approach is apt to play into the hands of the Soviet as it is always based on the relationship between the have and have-not nations. The multilateral approach, of which the Colombo Plan is the best example now in existence, is much to be preferred.

A word on the oil of the Middle East. Oil is no longer a mere

commodity but is a weapon in the hands of the Arabs. Imperial protection is of no avail. How long can the British continue their negotiations with the sheiks, etc.? One thing is clear, however. The Arabs must sell their oil, and who but the Western countries can buy it today? There is a sense in which the Middle East is "waiting for the comeback of Europe," but not in terms of Franco-British imperialism. The most sensible thing is to internationalize the Franco-British interests in the Middle East. I am convinced that establishing international regulation of industrial enterprise and economic aid is far more relevant to all parties concerned than bilateral agreements between any two nations.

Again, just a word on the anti-colonialism of the Asians. It is indeed a destructive force and does not serve any constructive purpose whatsoever. It leads to the decline of private investment in Asia which is extremely bad for economic development. To play East against West in the interest of Asian nationalism is nothing short of political blackmail. This may be clever in the short run but is destructive in the long run.

I reach a rather pessimistic conclusion. Europe and Asia are talking about different things, both being haunted by ghosts of the past and not grounded in the reality of international relations of today. Mr. Nehru's neutralism in international relations is not the last word. We may acknowledge his wisdom in domestic policy in India, but when he speaks on international affairs one cannot fail to sense an element of irrelevance.

Discussion on Topic IA.

Mr. Costa, Brazil

Is not Afro-Asian nationalism at the stage of adolescence and can it not be helped to mature with help from the West?

Dr. Patijn

European nationalism was already 300 years old at the beginning of the 19th century, therefore European experience cannot help Asia very much in so far as the maturing of nationalism is concerned.

Father Makary, Egypt

I believe that the W.C.C. can be an instrument through which to deal with Egypt and other Arab states from a singularly new point of view, because the emotional factors involved, as far as Egypt is concerned, are of crucial importance. Why not use more psychological insight in dealing with the Middle East, instead of merely relying on reason and logic all the time? First and foremost you must understand the Arabs' emotions.

Professor Busia, Ghana

Afro-Asian nationalism is a reaction to Western rule. It is Europe that has made Afro-Asian nationalism inevitable. But by adopting nationalism the Afro-Asian world puts itself in the position of Europe 300 years ago. Surrender of national sovereignty is important both for the Afro-Asian world and Europe. Is Dr. Patijn saying that Afro-Asian nations are claiming what the Western powers have already surrendered?

Professor Takenaka, Japan

In speaking of Asian nationalism, one must not forget the factor of time pressure which is heavy upon the Asian. Asian countries are faced with the need of centralization in spite of their intention to become genuine bourgeois nation states. Also it must be remembered that some of the consequences of the economic and technical aid rendered by the West during the colonial period still haunt the Afro-Asian countries, making them more and more nationalistic.

Mr. Thomas, India

I think Mr. Patijn's understanding of Asian nationalism is completely wrong. It is as wrong to talk about nationalism in the abstract as it is wrong to talk about imperialism in the abstract. One must make it clear what kind of nationalism one is talking about. Indian nationalism is not merely a reaction against British imperialism but also in a profound sense it is a fulfillment of British imperialism. The concept of nationhood is a legacy of the British rule. The first day of Indian nationalism was not the year 1857, but it was the day when the British established a university to train the elite. We must understand the constructive side of both imperialism and nationalism, as Canon Max Warren does in his "Caesar, the Beloved Enemy." The whole concept of nationhood that transcends all sorts of provincialism — such as that based on tribal and linguistic groups — is inseparable from nationalism. The question which Christians must answer is: What constitutes constructive nationalism?

With regard to Communism, Africans and Asians are just as interested in keeping Communism out of their countries as the West. Here again what I call constructive nationalism is the most positive "defence" against communist infiltration. Mere anti-Communism is a negative approach, and especially military pacts against Communism in Asia have no place in Asia. They merely result in solidifying reactionary elements in a country under the banner of anti-Communism.

Mr. Munby, Great Britain

Is it not rather dangerous to simplify the issue of economic relations between Europe and Asia to the extent of saying that Europe is interested only in the oil of the Middle East?

Dr. Patijn in answer to the points raised by —

(Father Makary) —
I doubt whether the W.C.C. can do very much. But it must do everything in its power to be more politically specific. I agree to the importance of the emotional factor, but the nationalization of the Suez Canal is absolutely wrong, for by it Egypt took over an international interest merely for the sake of her national pride. It is nothing less than blackmail. Such a conception of national sovereignty as motivates Mr. Nasser is the 19th century conception of the nation state, which incidentally is cherished by the Communists, too. It is indeed a destructive force today and completely out of tune with the reality of the mid-20th century.

(Professor Busia) -
European nations have sacrificed their sovereignty. They did so much
more willingly than they gave up their colonies.

(Professor Takenaka) -
I am completely in agreement.

(Mr. Thomas) - .
Nationalism today is at once constructive for the nation concerned
and destructive for international relations. That nationalism is
the best defence against communism even Mr. Dulles has said. With
regard to the military pact I fully agree with Mr. Thomas.

(Mr. Munby) -
I simply emphasized the importance of oil because of its political
implications.

Dr. Barnes, U.S.A.

I wonder whether Dr. Patijn is making too sharp a distinction between
the independence of a nation and its nationalism? Would not he undermine
his own statement on how free Asian countries are by his subsequent dis-
cussion on nationalism and national sovereignty?

Topic IB: The Role of European Churches and Missions.

This topic was introduced by Dr. Hans Gensichen, professor of Missions
at the theological faculty, University of Heidelberg, Mr. H. Witschi,
superintendent of the Basel Mission Society, Pastor Pierre Benignus of
the Paris Evangelical Mission Society, Mr. C.L. van Randwijck, Director
of the Mission Society of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Rev. Kenneth
McKenzie, lecturer at St. Colm's Missionary Training School, Edinburgh,
and former missionary in Northern Rhodesia. Four of the speakers cir-
culated papers in advance (see VI.) and made only brief supplementary re-
marks on their paper to open discussion.

Dr. Gensichen:

We must try to learn from history, and one of the basic questions we
must ask is: Have the missions in their relationship to colonialism been
faithful to their ultimate calling? In the past Christian missions have
become part and parcel of colonialism. At the moment colonialism in mis-
sions is neither dead nor dying fast. In fact, there are some unpleasant
indications that certain aspects of colonialism are deliberately being
kept alive in the Christian missions.

. Dissociation from colonialism can be either in terms of uncommitted
neutrality or in terms of constructive criticism. Missions ought to pro-
mote national independence and autonomy which inevitably leads to nation-
alism. In theory missions should be above both colonialism and nationalism,
but in practice the matter is not as simple as that. One ray of hope is
that there exists a chance to compensate for the mistakes of colonialism by
intelligently dealing with newly rising nationalism -- that is, by the de-
velopment of a new pattern of partnership.

Mr. Witschi:

The Christian missions' attitude toward colonialism should have been expressed by criticism of its evils, acting as the conscience of colonial powers. In fact colonialism remained seriously uncontested by missions for 250 years. One cannot ignore the serious political implications of every foreign missionary in so far as he belongs to one of the colonial powers. It does handicap the missions in the post-colonial period.

We must come to terms with the colonialism of Christian missions themselves. That is to say, mission churches are so developed as to remain branches of the mission-sending churches as their "mother churches." This is a structure patterned after colonial offices.

I would emphasize the importance of the missionary's attitude toward nationalism in the country in which he is working. This leads to an entirely new relationship between the mission and the local churches, that is, local churches are not branches of the mission-sending church in the West, but rather they must be the basis of missionary work in the country and also the locale for the consideration of church unity. This means that we need a serious theological re-thinking of missions.

It is regrettable that the new conception of social equality which is based on the Scriptures did not precede the political change. The Church should have led the government, but instead the Church is barely following the government.

Churches in Asia and Africa have been too rigidly institutionalized and as a result are bound to remain dependent on missions. What is the main role of Western missionaries in the Asian or African indigenous churches? This question needs to be fully considered. In the area of material and technical aid, the conception of inter-church aid must be fully developed and adhered to. This means that such aid as is given to the younger churches must be of a multi-lateral and anonymous character rather than bilateral and personal as under the old mission administration.

Pastor Benignus:

The work of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society began in 1822. At the outset it was opposed to the colonial policy of the French government, and its missionaries were refused passports to North Africa so were forced to go to Africa south of the Sahara instead. The Paris Evangelical Mission Society took over many fields from other societies in subsequent years (for example, many areas from German societies following World War I.)

Protestantism is in the minority in France and the Paris Evangelical Mission Society has never been very strong. It is very different from missionary societies of other countries. It is more a liaison office for churches in France and Switzerland. It has no missions in any part of Asia.

Our society has suffered from the difficulties of taking over work started and established by other societies. To many Protestant Christians in Africa evangelized by non-French missionaries, whatever is French is Roman Catholic. This kind of stereotype had to be fought. In some areas like Basutoland our Society has been a strong defence of the native people against the foreign colonial powers.

Now in the post-colonial period the primary responsibility of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society toward the young independent churches in Africa is envisaged as to be the liaison between the missionaries and the indigenous church leaders. In this new relationship the missionary is a servant of the African Church and not an ambassador of the French Church.

We feel that we should work more and more toward an international composition of missionary bodies, in which both personnel and spiritual responsibilities as well as material resources may be shared by missionaries of various national and confessional backgrounds. It is of the utmost importance that the missions maintain a global outlook during this ecumenical era.

Mr. van Randwijck:

The Whitby Conference in 1947 gave the churches a new vision and a new slogan for the missionary task: "Partnership in Obedience". There the significance of the younger churches and their responsibility for leadership was recognized by the churches of the West. The Whitby principle is based on sound wisdom. The only thing wrong with it was that it did not work!

Today we are challenged by post-Whitby radicalism: that is to say, missions are now an impossible sort of thing. Missions seriously want to be servants, but they are offered fewer and fewer opportunities to be servants. What, then, should we do? What services will be expected of us in the future? What place do the missions have in the post-colonial period? According to the Whitby principle, there is no such thing as responsibility of the churches of Europe. Responsibility entirely rests in the Asian churches.

From our standpoint nationalism is a dialectic affair and is an asset and a liability at the same time. There is no denying that nationalism turns the churches of foreign origin into something indigenous. But it has some negative aspects, too, as is seen in the extreme nationalistic tendency of some of the African separatist churches.

Mr. McKenzie:

The division of recent missionary history into periods is bound to be somewhat arbitrary, especially when the movement under examination has not yet run its course. Yet the following rough frontiers are useful practical guides:--

A period of pioneering up to about the time of World War I:

A period of transition and hesitation between the Wars:

The present period of confusion and re-assessment, the most self-conscious and self-critical of all.

1. The Old Situation:

This period is marked especially by:

The recession and apparent disintegration of non-Western cultures and civilizations under the terrific impact of the Occident. Substantial sections of great nations adopted, within limits, many of the features of Western civilization. Never before had the culture of one group of people spread so far, so fast and so fundamentally.

A remarkable and extensive religious re-awakening in the Christian West -- on both sides of the Atlantic. This affected Protestantism more than Latin or Eastern Christianity.

In this context -- and it is far more complex than can be indicated by these factors -- the Western missionary societies had the following functions:--

(a) They were vectors in the expansion of capitalism and Western culture sometimes doing shocking damage but also creating glorious good.

(b) Engaged in a vast amount of humanitarian work such as education, medicine, anti-slavery agitation, emancipation of women, famine relief and prevention, etc. This was all essentially reformist and on the whole there was no judgement on the structure of society.

(c) They had very little direct aid from governments. They were minority enterprises. Most Westerners were indifferent or hostile to them. Most Western Christians took no share in their support. Yet they kept the vitalizing concept of "mission" alive in the Occidental Churches.

(d) Through them hundreds of thousands of different races found Christian faith and began the great adventure of continuing that faith among their own people.

This is a history of heroic individuals more than of heroic communities.

2. The Period of Transition:

This period is noteworthy for:

- The extension of nationalism to the non-Western areas. Politically the Western imperial powers were still in control, but, for a variety of reasons, their grip was slackening.

- The extension of State interference and control. This went hand in hand with the State's assumption of many functions which in the earlier period belonged either to the joint stock company or the missionary society.

- The great wars and revolutions and economic depressions dominate the scene and dislocate much of the missionary societies' work.

- The cultural counter-attack against Europe gets under way. Many of the great non-Christian religions, notably Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism, undergo a renaissance.

- The support in money and personnel of the majority of the "missions" ceases to increase and in some instances even declines.

Of the reactions of the missionary societies the following are significant:

- The working out of new relations with the indigenous churches which emerged. The trend is away from the dominance and initiative of the Western organization to some kind of partnership. Some solve this by devolving functions from the Mission to the Church while still keeping the two separate. Others follow the line of integrating Church and Mission.

- Co-operation with the indigenous churches for the indigenization of worship, theological forms, church government and ethical norms.

- Period of far-reaching experiment in the production and distribution of Christian literature.

- The emergence of the ecumenical movement. Far closer co-operation between churches and missions and far more exchange of information.

We are now in the period when the history of groups has on the whole the place formerly given to individuals.

3. The New Situation:

In this period missions have new functions:

One real missionary frontier runs through all countries. The problems of Christian communication in say the Rhodesian Copper Belt, South Wales and Calcutta are more similar than ever. The same is true of rural evangelism. But the Church and missions have still to define these functions.

Discussion on Topic IB.

Dr. Thakur Das (Pakistan) said, it must be frankly admitted that missions in the past have had a denationalizing influence. To correct this, however, one must not lose sight of the real role - the primary, basic and ultimate role -- of the Church and of the missions, namely the proclamation of the Gospel. Right though it may be to emphasize diakonia, social services and economic aid, they are of secondary importance. More vital is the proclamation of the Gospel!

Mr. McKenzie said, in principle he agreed with Dr. Thakur Das. However, in situations of great human need the missions must render social service. In such a situation, not to be engaged in the work of diakonia is disobedience to the Gospel of Christ.

Professor Pfeffer (Germany) asked what we are to do with the old-fashioned distinction between "higher religions" and "pagan religions". In actual fact can we really make any sort of distinction between Christendom and missionary fields? What are the missionary societies doing through missionary training to meet the high standards of culture and civilization of Asia?

Mr. McKenzie reiterated that there is only one missionary frontier in this day and age. There cannot be double standards in the training of missionaries in the West and in Asia and Africa.

Dr. Gensichen said that within one frontier, however, a distinction must be made between the secularism of the West and the living Eastern religions as forces confronting the missionary Church. The training of the missionary can best be done in the field where he is to work; and no less important than his understanding the culture of the people to whom he is sent is his profound understanding of the civilization he represents.

Mr. Witschi said that the training of missionaries has improved immensely within the last decade. Yet it does not seem to have helped the situation very much. Intellectual training alone will not do.

Professor Kuin (Holland) said, we must not overlook the fact that missionaries are not immune from political suspicion. British and French missionaries, for example, must be very careful as to which areas they are sent. They may best work under missionary societies from non-colonial nations.

Mr. Thomas suggested that neither missionaries nor indigenous Christians can, in fact, be politically neutral. The myth of the political neutralism of the missionary movement has been carried into the "younger churches" as if Christians could (and therefore should) be non-political and purely spiritual. The pressing need today is for Christians, including missionaries, to bear Christian witness in the political area.

Pastor Benignus stated that what leaders of "younger churches" wish is to engage in dialogue with missionaries from the West on such matters. A politically committed missionary, whatever his political views may be, can enter into such a dialogue with Christians in the country where he is working.

Dr. Patijn asked in reference to Mr. McKenzie's earlier remark in which he stressed the importance of diakonia, whether the missionary's primary task was the proclamation of the Gospel?

Mr. McKenzie answered, yes, but the proclamation must be backed up by diakonia, for otherwise the proclamation becomes nothing but empty words.

Professor de Vries pointed out that in the areas of rapid social change the Church simply is not obedient to her calling unless she gives the best she has to assist the indigenous churches, who are still young and frail, to get on with their pressing situation. This means, among other things, that the Church must offer more and more specialists in many professional areas.

Mr. van Randwijck said that missionary societies are fully aware of this but it is not so easy to put it into practice.

Mr. Wren-Lewis asked, can anybody answer this question: Is the Communist missionary movement run by experts sent from abroad or by the converted Communists in the country itself?

Dr. Earle (USA) replied that he could not answer the question directly, but it is a fact that thousands of technically trained people are poured into the areas of rapid social change by the U.S.S.R.

Mr. van Randwijck pointed out that Mr. Wren-Lewis' question may also be asked in regard to the phenomenal expansion of Islam.

Dr. Fagley (USA) said this question raises an important issue, namely the relation between developmental assistance and the missions. What is the role of missions in relation to technical assistance?

Mr. McKenzie said that institutional services must be a receding factor as far as the missions are concerned.

Professor de Vries observed that missions and churches should leave institutional work as soon as secular agencies can take it over. The role of the missions in this respect is to pioneer in work which is not being done by the government or any other agency.

Dr. Gensichen said that a disturbing factor is that while the Protestant Churches are trying to get rid of institutions, the Roman Church is doing her utmost to increase them.

Professor Diehl (Sweden) said that the thing for us to do is to provide well-trained firmly-committed Christian personnel for institutions run by secular professional agencies, for in the final analysis Christian witness is done through personal contacts.

Mr. Kitagawa said that in dealing with all these important points, are we assuming that professional missionaries and missionary societies are indispensable in order that the Church be obedient to her missionary calling. Speaking about the professional training of missionaries, why not turn professionally trained men and women into missionaries in the new sense, or the original sense of the term?

Mr. Munby said that at this juncture he would like to ask what is meant by one sentence in Mr. van Randwijck's paper: "It may mean pleas for considering as missionaries Christians who have gone out in government service or in business and who are determined to witness to their Lord in and outside their professional life - whatever may be the meaning of the word 'missionary' in relation to a person whom the Church has not sent and for whom it has no responsibility." My point is this: I am a layman who happens to be a teacher. Am I not right in regarding myself as having been sent by the Church to the university where I teach as a missionary to bear witness among my fellow teachers and students? In what sense is the Church not responsible for me in my obedience to the missionary call?

Dr. Holland (U.K.) noted that what they are doing at the Oversea Service in Britain is to instill into professional and technical people going abroad the consciousness that they are missionaries.

Dr. Bridston asked whether it is not about time for the missions to get over their introverted way of thinking? To lay stress on the training of professional missionaries exclusively results in something like building an army of colonels without troops! Also in this ecumenical era is it not important to internationalize the missionary forces?

Topic II: Social and Cultural Impact of the West Upon Africa and Asia.

A panel of four African and Asian participants, laymen and pastors, were asked to present statements to the consultation on the influence of European culture on their societies. The four speakers were: Prof. K.A. Busia, head of the Department of Sociology of the University College of Ghana; Dr. Masao Takenaka, assistant professor of Christian Ethics at the Theological Faculty of Doshisha University, Japan; Father Makary of the Coptic Church, Egypt; and Pastor R.A. Ralibera of the Reformed Church of Madagascar. Their statements provoked an interesting discussion.

Professor Busia, Ghana:

In this brief presentation I must inevitably select certain factors or aspects to emphasize. I shall confine my remarks to one subject: What is the situation in Africa today insofar as the impact of the West is concerned and what can the Church do about it?

The impact of the West can be seen in

1) European production, technology and trade, which have brought to the Africans a) A new kind of population mobility, leading to urbanization; b) new ways by which people earn their living, including new skills; c) a new type of social stratification based on skills and income rather than status and heritage as before. To all these phenomena the Church has heretofore taken the attitude that it has nothing to do with them. But as a matter of fact it was the Church or the Mission that first taught these skills to Africans.

2) Education. No one can deny how much the Church has contributed in this field in the past. The Western type of education has brought literacy into an illiterate society, which has had a far-reaching effect on nationalism in Ghana. Today in Ghana there is not one member of the Parliament or civil service who has not gone to a mission school at one time or another in his life. Nationalism today is one of the results of modern education and the training of experts in various fields.

3) Character of persons. People are increasingly less bound by superstition, the ancestral way of life and the traditions of tribal society, and are learning to be more and more responsible for their own conduct and behaviour. The rationalism and individualism underlying Western civilization have had a liberating effect upon people's character.

4) European administration, which in the final analysis is based on the Christian conception of man. It was through European administration that supra-tribal national unity or nationhood became possible. Without it Ghana as a modern nation state would not have been born. If newly rising African nations are seeking power today, it is due to what they have learned from the colonial powers of the West, namely the pursuit of power in a competitive market. There is a sense in which Europe is reproducing itself in Africa today or in which Europe in its infancy can be seen in contemporary Africa. (The term "underdeveloped country" betrays the basic European attitude toward its own civilization, in that anything which is not European is for that reason alone regarded as underdeveloped. The development of Africa therefore means the Europeanization of Africa!)

5) <u>Moral and ethical confusion</u>, which has resulted from the partial emancipation from superstitions, old mores, tribal customs, etc., from the breakdown of age-old communal solidarity, and from the uncertainty inherent in a state of transition from one type of culture to a radically different kind of civilization.

What then should the Church do? In the development of Africa and the building of modern nations there, the Church must concentrate on the task of developing human potentialities. Human potentials are most powerful and also most unpredictable. No one can tell what a newborn baby is going to be or do when it grows up in a free society. A profound significance of Christian conversion in African society has been, sociologically speaking, that it prepared African people for life in a technological civilization. It helped them break away from what they needed to be emancipated from. It transformed man that he might change society. This is the task which needs most to be done in Africa and this is the task which the Church must carry out with all its vigour and power.

Professor Takenaka, Japan:

In order to understand contemporary Japan one must bear in mind the ways in which Japan accepted the West in the past. The history of Japan is characterized by her receptivity to foreign culture. The Japanese culture is a highly mixed culture as a result of the assimilation or domestication of the Indian, Chinese and Korean cultures in antiquity and of Western culture in recent years. Since the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate the attitude of Japan toward the West has changed from period to period. (During the Tokugawa period, Japan absolutely rejected the West.) With the Meiji Restoration of 1867 Japan attempted to become a modern bourgeois nation state by the adaptation and assimilation of Western science and technology. But she soon became aware of Western dominance over Asia, especially India and China. Out of fear of Western dominance there arose a strong sentiment of ultra-nationalism which controlled the policy of the government for half a century. During this period Japan tried to adopt Western technology for the promotion of her own national interest. (It must be remembered that this period was that of the West's expansion and penetration into all parts of the world.) Following her defeat in World War II she entered a period of "enlightened nationalism," recognizing the reality of interdependence among all nations. The guiding principle in this period has been the integration of the West into Japanese society and mutual learning between the West and Japan.

In speaking of the impact of the West on Japan, the most conspicuous effect has been in the area of education. Illiteracy has long since been wiped out. The academic standard of the 12 imperial universities, modeled on the German pattern, was extremely high before the war. In the postwar period the number of universities supported by public funds has increased to more than 400, modeled on the American pattern and thus popularizing higher technical education. The area in which the Church has made the most conspicuous contribution is the education of women and the elevation of their position in society.

One of the things that need to be especially pointed out is the co-existence of the Western way of life and the Japanese style of life. This cultural dichotomy has caused cultural uprootedness on the one hand and

the imposition of a superficial veneer on the other (Western on the surface but stubbornly Japanese underneath.) The widespread and zealous use of modern mass communication media is accentuating this situation and contributing to further moral and spiritual confusion. At this juncture people feel that they have reached a dead-end in every sphere of life. The increased pace of industrialization causes an increase of competition, which in turn tends to result in the de-personalization of people. There is prevalent among youth a profound sense of nihilism. The high rate of suicide, the tremendous sale of tranquillizers, the increasing number of narcotics addicts among youth and the rise of juvenile delinquency all attest to the fact that the meaning of life is seriously questioned by millions of Japanese today. The disturbing thing is that the Church has not been able to help people in this crucial respect.

Father Makary, Egypt:

The impact of the West upon Egypt began with the French expedition and, with the British occupation, has been steady and penetrating since 1882. Since achieving independence, we have been looking toward full integration of the two cultures through their mutual impact upon each other.

The cultural impact of the West on us through literature in the medieval period conditioned our response to the impact of the modern West, which has been through technology and trade rather than literature. A youth who receives a Western education today is alienated from the Egypt of his elders. Cultural uprootedness and spiritual estrangement make him a stranger in his own land. Under such circumstances, Westernization evokes a spirit of ultra-nationalism which tends to move in the direction of nativism, as is seen in the renaissance of interest in the ancient civilization. In this context the religion generally acceptable is that of the ancient indigenous civilization, while modern civilization is identified with irreligion and secularism.

Before independence, education in modern Egypt was thoroughly European, which resulted in the de-nationalization of the educated Egyptians. They were almost exclusively trained to become government officials. Since independence there has arisen a strong reaction against this, to the extent of being thoroughly anti-Western. The serious shortcoming of having education controlled by foreign powers was that it did not train a middle class to become the backbone of the new nation.

Christian missions also played an important part in Westernizing Egypt. The evangelical missions came initially to convert Muslims, but finding it well nigh impossible to convert them, the missions soon turned to the Copts, treating them as heathen. The missionaries used every conceivable means to allure the Copts, including material attractions. Not a few Copts were attracted to the evangelical missions because of the prestige of association with the Westerners during the period of Western dominance. The Coptic nickname given to the Western missionary was "snatching wolf."

Now, partly, (but not exclusively) as a reaction against the evangelical missions there arose a Coptic revival in recent years. One may ask, why had the Coptic Church been asleep for so many centuries? The chief reason is that it has been persecuted as a minority group under

the Muslim dominance. Western domination gave the general impression that all Christians were Westernized and therefore de-nationalized, and this put the Copts in disrepute in the eyes of Muslim Egyptians. Today with the rise of nationalistic sentiment even the Presbyterian Church calls itself the Coptic Presbyterian Church, emphasizing the Egyptian nationality of its members.

Mention must be made of the moral implications of the impact of the West through motion pictures and other mass communication media. Women are more and more pre-occupied with "fashion," the search for "popularity" or community acceptance in the competitive society. There are to be seen many marks of moral degradation in society due to the breakdown of the old patterns of moral ties. Here the Church has a unique responsibility. In this connection two or three points may be made concerning the social impact of the West:

a) Colonialism was a defender of the antiquated feudal structure, and has hardly been a force for democratization. It further accentuated the enmity between Christians and Muslims on the principle of "divide and rule."

b) A change in the status of women. The employment of women in Egypt today complicates the problem of unemployment. Working women, although earning an income of their own, still think that the men alone are responsible for the family finances. They become more and more economically independent and at the same time more irresponsible! It must also be noted that the employment of women inevitably increases the number of unmarried women who are well-educated and highly-skilled, which is a totally new phenomenon in Egyptian society. With it, one cannot fail to notice a sharp increase in divorce and broken families.

Pastor Ralibera, Madagascar:

In Madagascar social revolution began with the advent of Christianity. The impact of the West has had good and bad aspects. On the credit side, one can point out that Malagassy society became better organized, its administration modernized and law and order instituted. On the debit side, one must point out that imitation of Europeans became fashionable, which inevitably results in degeneration of the indigenous culture. So far there has been little amalgamation of the two societies, Malagassy and European. The two have remained separated and tension has grown between them. Malagassy people still find it extremely difficult to live with technological civilization and to acquire education as a means toward better adjustment to modern civilization. There were two types of education in the past, both of which ignored the real need of the Malagassy society: one, the type of education which is merely a copy of the French system, creating a class of Westernized elite; the other, official education to provide auxiliary manpower for colonial administration. In contrast to these two types, the mission schools have been better adapted to the needs of the country. The reform in education five years ago promises to do much to meet the pressing needs of the people in this respect.

Discussion on Topic II.

Dr. Patijn said he liked the profound realism manifested by the members of the panel. They have succeeded in creating a climate in which one can be absolutely frank and speak without fear of hurting anyone's feelings. He put two questions:-

1. What can the Church do to help the people in underdeveloped countries to adapt themselves to Western culture? (Incidentally, the term "underdeveloped countries" was first used not by either Europeans or Americans, but was originally adopted by the Afro-Asian countries.)

2. Speaking more specifically about Egypt, the impact of the West is almost always presented as an influence that "fools the little fellows" so as to increase delinquency, crime, suicide, etc. What is the basis for this attitude?

Professor Busia replied to question 1: The Church has already done a great deal. The pioneer missionaries reduced the tribal languages to writing. The concept and habit of working around the clock was first introduced and established by the ringing of church bells. The idea of dressing decently to go to Church led to forming the habit of personal cleanliness. The Church taught the importance of learning how to read and write, and prepared people to learn all sorts of new skills. Hymn-singing in church was their first introduction to Western music. Thus the Church has played a tremendously important role as a vehicle of Western culture. Furthermore, the healing ministry of the missions touched the depth of the African cosmology, helped African to break away from superstition, and prepared them for a rational way of life.

At this point mention must be made of the so-called "separatist churches." Many members of the mission churches are being attracted to the separatist churches because of their promises of benefits in terms of the old African cosmology. Finally, the Church through its educational ministry has helped Africans adjust themselves to Western culture. When two cultures meet, they do not stay permanently separated but become fused with each other. The Christian Church as a socio-cultural institution has been a firmly-established fact for several decades now and has made a tremendous contribution in this respect.

Father Makary replied in answer to Dr. Patijn's Question 2: If I have given you such an impression, it is because by request I spoke exclusively on the debit side of the impact of the West. Of course, I cannot deny a tendency on the part of the Arabs (and for that matter, Asians and Africans, too) to put all the blame on the West for all their social ills. At the same time I must emphatically state that the socio-spiritual breakdown of Egyptian society as a result of the Western impact is an undeniable fact, too.

Professor Takenaka commented on the same point: A pessimistic reaction to the Western impact is not exclusively to be found in Egypt. It can be seen in Japan, too, as is indicated by the high rate of suicides and the tremendous sale of tranquillizers. The Japanese masses are tired of living in an increasingly competitive society. They are not fully emancipated from the old "shame culture" which was characterized by the total absence of a sense of guilt and therefore by the absence, also, of the concepts

of forgiveness and redemption. When they are thrown into the midst of a highly competitive society where they have to make decisions, moral and otherwise, for themselves individually, all too often in an attempt to outdo their friends and relatives and against their instinctive inclinations, they cannot help becoming depressed. The phenomenal rise of all sorts of new religious movements in Japan is an indication of this fact.

Professor de Vries asked whether it was not true that the sectarian and separatist groups that are rising in many areas are also caused by the deep sense of social insecurity that is a consequence of the competitive character of modern technological society.

Professor Sikes, (U.S.A.), commenting on this question said, the late Karen Horney in her "Neurotic Personality of Our Time," developed the thesis of a conflict between the Christian ethos of American cultural heritage and the success philosophy based on the purely materialistic standards of modern U.S. society.

Mr. McKenzie observed that the Church's failure to indigenize is responsible for the Church's failure to capture the imagination of political leaders. The Church thus became a disintegrating factor in contemporary African society.

Professor Busia remarked that the break-up of the native society inevitably produces a culturally-uprooted personality. The Church can also become a re-integrating force in a disintegrating society. The Church itself, or some groups within it, may, as in Ghana, initiate and establish social security and insurance systems in which people who have become independent of their old tribal and kinship communities find a new basis for solidarity and security. This, of course, is a part of the process of the indigenization of Christianity. Apart from indigenization, Christianity may be accepted intellectually but it does not reach the African's heart.

Mr. Thomas, India, made two points with regard to the Church's contribution in areas of rapid social change: - 1) The Impact of the West meant, among other things, an uprooting from the old solidarities which is, on one hand, demoralization and on the other hand, liberation. In a profound sense uprooting is necessary as a pre-condition of liberation. The question is how to re-root an uprooted people. This is precisely the challenge to the Church in Asia and Africa that the Church has not adequately met. What, then, is the new pattern of social solidarity that the Church must help establish among those who have been uprooted from their old solidarities? Clearly it should not be a nativistic return to the old, buttressing it with Western technology, as is advocated by the ultra-nationalists. Christians must accept the disintegration of the old order, then work toward a new order. This may be called "liberal nationalism" and this is precisely the position the Church should take. The Church can then make a positive contribution in a society undergoing rapid and radical change. So far, however, the Church has not done so. The Church, by being a new community, must exemplify what the new pattern of society and of family must be.
  2) My second point concerns the predicament of the educated intellectual as a displaced person in our society. They are virtually without a home -- refugees in their own homeland! Hindu nationalism provides a home for them. So does Communism. So does the Sectarian movement. The

Church has been very slow to recognize this particular need. The Church must be in vital conversation with liberal or neo-Hindu nationalism which is earnestly attempting to provide a spiritual home for the intellectuals of modern India.

Professor Kuin and Mr. Keighley both noted that apparently in Europe the highest rate of crime and suicide is found in Sweden, which has the highest standard of living in Europe.

Mr. Munby said he was disturbed by the remarks on delinquency and suicide that glibly attribute their cause to the social disintegration resulting from the competitiveness of industrial civilization. He asked whether the competitiveness of Japanese society was due to the introduction of modern industrial civilization and/or to overpopulation since the period of feudalism?

Professor Takenaka replied that in pre-industrial Japan, even if there was overpopulation (which was not the case, in fact) rigid social stratification gave every person a niche to fit into. This resulted in the sense of stability prevalent among the population. Furthermore the influence of fatalism in Buddhism and the idea of reward in the life hereafter was strong. Now in modern Japan people have been liberated from all these things. As a result they have much to gain and much to lose, which throws them into an extremely insecure, unstable and uncertain position.

Mr. Doig, Scotland and Nyasaland, suggested we may be too pessimistic about the Church's role in helping people meet the challenge of the Western impact. Ought we not point out more emphatically the positive aspect of the Church's role in developing new patterns of family relations? Can the Church in Japan point to some actual cases of Japanese who, due to conversion to Christianity, have overcome the traditional ethos of a shame culture?

Professor Takenaka.

Certainly. One of the most conspicuous examples in contemporary Japan is the novelist, Shiina Rinzo, who in his novels tells how he had lost all sense of the meaning of life, became a nihilist, turned to Communism, and finally at the depth of his struggle to find some meaning in life was encountered by the Gospel, which restored to him a profound sense of the meaningfulness of life.

Topic III: The Ethical Problems of European Private Enterprise in Africa
            and Asia.

        Professor Kuin of Holland and Mr. Wren-Lewis of the United Kingdom
supplemented their preparatory papers with the following remarks:

Professor Kuin:

        Private enterprise abroad tends to become defensive because of the
record of greed and oppression in the past. But it has a creative and
useful role to play. The problem of the underdeveloped countries is the
dearth of capital. The sale of government bonds to attract foreign capital
is no longer easy and industrial investors from the West are none too
plentiful. There are international agencies that make loans at low rates
of interest and on easy terms, but the amount of funds made available
through international agencies is extremely limited.

        When an industry in the West makes a direct investment in Asia or
Africa, and establishes a branch office, well-trained managers are sent
there not only to man the office but also to train managerial experts.
Furthermore, in the course of training nationals, there occurs a break-
down of the colour bar almost as a matter of course.

        There are, however, certain social and cultural problems involved,
too. Emphasis must be laid on helping the people exploit local resources
for themselves and for the world, an undertaking which calls for a certain
definite point of view. What benefits consumers is mass production at as
low a cost per unit of production as possible. But this runs counter to
control of production by local enterprise which is satisfied with smaller
turnover at a higher cost per unit. Also there may be a conflict between
Western business which is geared for expansion and is dynamic, and local
business which is geared to meet existing needs only, and therefore is
more static. Frequently also a foreign enterprise results in the des-
truction of local village crafts and also the purchasing power of the
people.

        In fairness to the people of the country where it operates, Western
business should share with the government of the country its know-how in
production, sales and distribution.

        In all this the cooperation of the national government is absolutely
essential. (Incidentally, an enlightened businessman is generally much
more progressive on the subject of nationalism than colonial governments.)
But Western business abroad must avoid political involvement at all cost
and it should never identify itself with any particular political party.
Above all, it must avoid a patronizing attitude toward the country and its
nationals. Mutual confidence is the key. The confidence of the nationals,
however, must be earned by the way you deal with everybody and by showing
that you are really interested in increasing the country's prosperity as
well as your own (certainly not exclusively yours alone.)

Mr. Wren-Lewis:

        I would like to deal with just one question here. What lies behind
the so-called uprooting of the indigenous people as a result of the impact

of Western civilization? In the final analysis, it is the problem of alienation and guilt, and I would deal with it from the point of view of the private enterprise abroad.

To lean over backward trying to dissociate Christianity from Western civilization is dangerous as well as unsound, for the connection between Westernism and Christianity is not merely accidental but vital and essential. I dare say that, upsetting although it may have been, the cultural uprooting of Asians and Africans by the impact of the West has been absolutely necessary. The evil of the materialism of the modern West cannot be combatted by returning to the perennial philosophy of the East. It can only be done by first recognizing the essential connection between Western civilization and Christianity, in spite of all sorts of accompanying evils. The conflict is not between the perennial philosophy of the East and the materialism of the Western technical civilization but between the old mythological world view and the Judeo-Christian theistic world view. Through the collaboration of theology and psychoanalysis, Christians can gain profound insight into the pre-Christian and pre-scientific world view which is so much a part and parcel of the mental constitution of the people of Asia and Africa. To be liberated from it, therefore, causes them to suffer from a sense of guilt and self-alienation. This is the real problem in connection with the cultural uprooting. Cultural uprooting cannot be avoided and it is not bad in itself. The problem is not so much sociological as it is theological and psychological.

Discussion on Topic III.

Dr. Northcot, (U.K.) asked what shareholders in the West could do to assure that an enterprise contributes to the economic development of an underdeveloped country. What if there is a difference of opinion between management and the shareholders?

Professor Kuin replied that the economic development of a given country is assured when its labour and resources are combined in production in such a way and to the extent that consumers can and will buy its products, thus bringing in profits. Shareholders are playing their part all the time since management feels it must make a profit for them. It is the experience in most companies that management is ahead of shareholders in discerning the social responsibilities of enterprise.

Mr. Thomas asked if it is legitimate for an underdeveloped country to ask foreign private enterprise to invest some of its profit in the country where it operates. If so, how can you make the enterprise do so?

Professor de Vries replied that the moral obligation on the part of the foreign company coupled with the currency exchange rate make it imperative that some portion of its profits be invested in the country.

Professor Stolper, (U.S.A.) said that from the standpoint of a theoretical economist, there is no moral obligation on the part of the foreign enterprise, as there is no moral right on the part of the underdeveloped country to have any part of the profits invested for the purpose of the economic development of that country.

Professor Kuin said he would emphasize the basic principle of partnership between the foreign industry and the country in which it operates.

Mr. Munby asked about the relationship between investment in the country and the burden of dividends going out of the country?

Professor Kuin said, it must be remembered that the dividend is made possible by the increase in national income.

Mr. Edwards, (U.K.) pointed out that any country has sovereign rights to tax profits made therein, as well as to control the transfer of the profits.

Mr. Keighley asked with reference to the political neutrality of foreign enterprise, what should be the company's political stand or how should its employees' and managers' personal political opinions be expressed in countries where political power still rests in the Europeans?

Professor Kuin answered that the company must assure its managers and employees freedom to hold and express definite political opinions. There is frequently a rather refined form of corruption prevalent in underdeveloped countries when the foreign company lacks political integrity.

Professor de Vries noted that Professor Kuin says in his paper that foreign enterprise is "a guest and not a master" in an independent country. Why not in every country? It is even more important for a foreign company not to behave like a master in a not-yet-independent country.

Professor Kuin agreed fully.

Mr. Abrecht asked what was the hope for private enterprise at a time when underdeveloped countries were emphasizing nationalization of important industries.

Professor Kuin said that the International Chamber of Commerce is promoting a code of behaviour with regard to foreign private investment so as to prevent the government of any underdeveloped country from attracting and repressing foreign investment at one and the same time. The establishment of a partnership between the foreign development company, the domestic government and the domestic investor largely depends upon the social climate that prevails and the spirits of mutual confidence among them. (Story of the scorpion and the frog!)

SPECIFIC DISCUSSION ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS OF MR. WREN-LEWIS'

PAPER AND STATEMENT.

In reference to Mr. Wren-Lewis' emphasis on the need of de-mythologization, Professor Diehl raised the question of whether there is not some positive value in myths, or why should there be myths at all. Is Christianity really anti-mythological? Dr. Gensichen, commenting on Professor Bultmann's definition of "myth" and "mythological interpretation", expressed his own agreement with Mr. Wren-Lewis' statement on page 4 of his paper, and went on to state that the Christian gospel liberates man from the myth-making compulsion. In this sense the Gospel de-mythologizes. The issue, therefore, is not the choice between different world-views, such as the mythological world-view of Asia and Africa and the post-Christian scientific world-view of the West, but between the Gospel and all the world-views, including the Western scientific world-view!

Mr. Thomas argued that unless a profound cultural and ethical revolution takes place science and technology cannot be fully integrated into Africa and Asia. This much I can see clearly. But is this scientific technological ethos basically Christian? Is it not rather rooted in post-Christian secularism? I can more readily accept the proposition that Western humanism is closely related to Christianity than that science and technology are. I must say one other thing. Mr. Wren-Lewis says that the nationalism of Asia and Africa, rooted in the mythical world-view, prevents the cultural revolution from taking place, but I believe that nationalism as a fulfillment of Western imperialism is actually the best agency for promoting a cultural revolution that needs to take place.

Professor Takenaka said there are two kinds of myths: One is an "inner history" of an ethnic group, namely a mythical interpretation of the race's history; and the other is a dogmatized myth, or a myth institutionalized, which shuts people's minds up in a certain conceptual structure based on the myth in question. People must be liberated from this kind of myth.

Mr. Munby said, the most important things are the two conclusions in Mr. Wren-Lewis' paper:

1. A scientific-technological world-view can be adopted quite apart from accepting Christianity, and

2. There is a danger that the dynamic character of technical civilization may drive people to re-mythologizing.

Professor de Vries then pointed out how frequently the once-westernized man of Africa and Asia is found returning to once-forsaken magic. Professor Busia asked Mr. Wren-Lewis to define the two terms: "myth" and "secularization." Replying, directly and indirectly, Mr. Wren-Lewis said:

1. One practical consequence of his philosophical endeavour might be to recommend the slowing down of the process of social change, where possible, and an effort to understand the personal anxiety of the people who are going through a socio-cultural change.

2. Nationalism is at best only a partial liberation from a "mythische Weltanschauung."

3. Secularism is a Christian heresy.

4. The philosophical and in the final analysis theological problem confronting us is the question of action and not of system. Here I would like to point out again that science itself can be accepted mythically. Science based on a philosophy of materialism is a pseudo-science, for example. Materialism destroys science and science destroys materialism. Technology based on a pseudo-science will eventually destroy itself.

5. I did not set out with a clear definition of terms, but from the way I have been using them I hope you will understand what I mean by them.

Topic IV: Responsibilities of Christians in Relation to European Programmes of Technical Assistance and Economic Aid.

Consideration of this topic was based on three preparatory papers by Professor B. Niculescu, of the economics faculty of the University of Ghana; Dr. Richard Fagley, Executive Secretary of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs; and Mr. H.E. Vollert of Germany. In addition there were brief presentations by Dr. Fagley, Professor Niculescu and Dr. de Vries to open discussion at the Consultation.

Dr. Fagley:

Many problems are involved in the Western developmental assistance programme in the underdeveloped countries, such as relations between military assistance and developmental assistance; impact of the fluctuation of commodity prices upon rational planning; balance of export and import; the question of bilateral vs. multilateral agreements on loans and grants, etc. Loans and grants have so far been enough to dramatize the needs of the underdeveloped countries but hardly enough to meet their minimum need.

The merits and limitations of private capital investments compared with governmental technical assistance programmes should be fully assessed. In passing it may be pointed out that private investment in the critical areas of the world today is almost entirely impractical except for the extracting industries, e.g. oil and minerals. Be that as it may, the problem of economic development in general may be stated as follows:

a. Lack of correlation and standardization among agencies operating.
b. More need for counselling with regard to exploitable commodities in the underdeveloped countries.
c. The need for more "small" development projects, that is, projects closer to the social situation of the given country and easier for the indigenous population to get a hold of. Frequently such projects are lost sight of in face of grandiose projects by the government.
d. The need for extension workers who would actually go into villages to interpret and help communicate the meaning of a given developmental project.

e. The ethical-social problems involved in the culture changes result-
ant from technical development.

In relation to these problems the Church can be extremely helpful if
she would mobilize the potential resources within her.

Professor Niculescu:

The contribution of Europe toward the development of Africa since the
Second World War has been enormous in comparison with what it was before.
But compared with the need of Africa it is no more than a trickle. What
is the need of Africa? It is twofold, namely capital and skill.

1. Africa's need for capital: - A stable relationship between
national income and national capital is believed to be anywhere from 1:4
to 1:5. The average per capita income in Africa south of the Sahara is
£30-35 per annum, and in West Africa alone is £200 - 250. It is not un-
reasonable to aim at £100 per capita per annum for the whole of Africa,
but in order to realize it Africa needs capital investment of £80,000
million. This amount would make some impression on Africa, but it is
highly unreasonable to expect this much from European governments.

And one may ask: Suppose this were done, would it really help?
Would Africa be able to invest out of its own resources once they began
to be developed by outside assistance? This question is not easy to
answer, for there are problems which cannot be solved even with this
amount of investment. For one thing, Africa is a huge continent with a
diversity of climates, cultures, ethnic groups, and so forth, as well as
a diversity of patterns in production, financing and distribution among
African communities. This means that, in order to be helpful, the type
of assistance must be of a kind somewhat close to what is prevailing in
a given community, and not a European form imposed upon it. In this con-
nection far more serious consideration should be given than heretofore to
the matter of sending Asian and Middle Eastern technicians to Africa in-
stead of American and European ones.

2. Africa's need for skills: - In connection with the programme of
technical assistance, the often-repeated assumption that direct national
contacts meet with resistance is not necessarily a sound one. There is
much to be said for bilateral arrangements instead of multilateral ones.
The latter may be more neutral but for that very reason may also be more
impersonal and lack warmth. The really crucial question which one must
not evade answering is: Why should Europe help Africa at all, either
with capital or skill? Why can't Europe leave Africa alone?

In attempting to answer this question, one thing must immediately
be said, and said emphatically: Africa does not want charity or alms-
giving from Europe! From the European point of view, it should also be
stated: Europe is permeated with fear, a very real fear, the fear that
she may lose her soul. And in the final analysis this is Africa's fear,
too. Here the significance of Mr. McKenzie's point about the oneness of
the missionary frontier in the contemporary world looms large.

As we think of the problem of rapid social change, we must think
of it more in terms of one individual in the midst of radical change of
his habitat. Social change per se need not be overwhelming as wartime

England has successfully demonstrated. Man is extremely resilient under the most trying circumstances as long as he can go along with his fellow-men. At this point I recall Dr. Patijn's question: How can Africa stand alone when Europe can no longer stand alone? In my opinion this is a premature question so far as Africa is concerned. Poor Africa can stand alone and for the very reason that Africa is poor. It is only when she desires to elevate her standard of living that she becomes increasingly dependent on others.

Thinking along these lines, I grow afraid of my own conclusion. There is a grain of madness in every Christian. Indeed, to be a Christian is a dangerous thing and we all try to keep it under restraint. How can the Church's missionary giving be raised to an amount that will make some impact on Africa? One may think either in terms of how much a mere 10 cents can do or how little even $100 amounts to nowadays. Look at the astronomical figures of the defence budget of any Western nation. How little is its budget for colonial development in comparison with the military budget! Perhaps it is time that Robin Hood economics be brought into the realm of international affairs. The defence budget for the United Kingdom in one year is more than enough to meet all Africa's need for education and health services. The Christian Church must be the conscience of the world in this kind of problem as well as many others.

Professor de Vries:

All the working papers have made reference to the difference in economic and technical development between Europe and the areas of rapid social change, but the degree of imbalance of development is much sharper than the papers indicate. Since 1913 the standard of living has risen 5% in the U.S.S.R. and Canada, 3% in the U.S.A., but only 0.1% in Asia and Africa (compound figure). The gap, therefore, is widening every year! There is an imbalance in production, too. For example, Africa, Asia and Latin America combined produce 16 million tons of cereals a year less than necessary to maintain their position in world trade. Today they have a deficit which is supplemented by the surpluses of North America. Imbalance in the development of transportation is to be seen in the fact that shipping and air transport have been so much more developed than internal roads in the underdeveloped countries, and yet they need the roads at least as much. There exists an imbalance in the growth of exports and imports in most of these countries, too.

The thing most of all ignored is the human resource in the under-developed areas of the world. Our generation has developed all sorts of world organizations, yet the channeling of resources from the advanced to the underdeveloped nations is done in the worst way. For example, the International Bank, which loans funds almost exclusively on economic infra-structures, has so far given more than half of its loans to the advanced nations. Or, again, the medical services have conquered only the more easily controllable diseases through international organizations. Tuberculosis, mental disease, cancer and others have been scarcely touched.

The only sign of hope is in the development of regional plans like the Colombo Plan, which may be regarded as a "regional Marshall Plan."

I would like also to point out the fantastic imbalance in international

economic aid, in which funds are allocated in terms of per capita per.
annum, and also the imbalance in technical aid programmes.

The countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America where an explosive
population increase is taking place which will accelerate for the next
20 years, need all the technical and economic help the West can possibly
give them. If every country would give one per cent of its national in-
come every year, there would be a possibility of meeting the existing
needs of the underdeveloped countries (about $7 billion annually).

There should also be devised a more equitable means of exchanging
goods between advanced and underdeveloped nations, that is, the exchange
of the raw materials of the underdeveloped countries and the manufactured
goods of the advanced ones.

It is also conceivable that a system of international taxation could
be instituted by which custom duties might be imposed on both imports and
exports of raw materials and the amount so collected turned over to
SUNFED or something similar.

There are thus various possibilities if one uses his imagination
enough. Now the question is: How can the Church do anything about it?
The fact is that the Church has been as guilty of indifference and ir-
responsibility as all the other agencies in this respect. In fact, the
Church has not even begun to see the real scope and dimension of the prob-
lem. The pressing question before us is then: How can the Church's
conscience be sufficiently aroused? To give one example, we started a
group three years ago in Holland with 25 people who gave 1 per cent of
their annual income for some developmental assistance programme in the
low income countries. Today this group has a membership of nearly 3000.
That is to say, we thought of doing ourselves first what we would urge
our government to do. The Church should be ready to encourage such
programmes.

Discussion on Topic IV.

Mr. Symonds, (U.N. Technical Assistance Office in Yugoslavia) said
Professor Niculescu's point on using Asian technicians is well taken.
The U.N. agencies have already been trying it, although there are prob-
lems. As for the multiplicity of agencies operating in the same area,
to which both Professor Niculescu and Professor de Vries referred, co-
ordination is certainly one of the most important tasks. Again, he
said, he was fully aware of the positive aspects of bilateral programmes,
but we must also recognize that the U.N. can criticize the programmes of
countries receiving aid from it far more freely than the commissioner of
a donor country can criticize the programme of a receiving country.

More specifically, what can the Church do in regard to the develop-
mental assistance programme? There are three things:

1. Create the climate of opinion supporting it in the West.
2. Help make sure that technicians from the underdeveloped coun-
   tries are made welcome when they come to European countries.
3. Exert moral pressure upon the U.N. and also give it spiritual
   support.

Mr. John Edwards said it does not help to present our concern for developmental assistance in the way it was done by our speakers. From the point of a politician, a civil servant or a banker, the first question is how to get one's national government to agree to give sizeable amounts of money for the development of other countries. That is to say, how to create the political will to spend so much money outside the country is the first hurdle to get over. Here an appeal to good will or conscience will not do. We in political life are doing all we can to get our parties to accept such a figure as 1% of the national income for developmental assistance. But our speakers tell us that this is not enough and quote the astronomical sums required. That approach is certain to undermine our efforts.

Dr. Patijn agreed. To give out astronomical figures as our speakers did is a mistake. Ordinary people get the feeling it's too much for them and civil servants are sure to become hostile. We cannot get results by scaring people or by asking for the impossible. Also it is a mistake to compare defence expenditures with developmental project expenses, for Western nations are convinced that their defence is at the same time the defence of the underdeveloped countries. I hope the churches and the World Council will spell out more clearly what steps are to be taken in respect to the developmental programme.

Professor Stolper doubted if Western aid could help countries of Asia and Africa if these countries did not show readiness to change their social structure. Population increase and the rise of living standards was an example of the problem. Mr. Thomas in reply said now we are asking the impossible of Asia and Africa. Professor Niculescu said we must see what we can do in the future. It was amazing to see how governments had increased their overseas grants in recent years.

Professor de Vries said he had based his statements on certain assumptions:

1. That we are interested in developing stronger ties with countries of Asia and Africa;
2. he did not speak of an astronomical sum;
3. governments anyway are quite capable of thinking of astronomical sums in relation to defence against Communism;
4. churches cannot accept thesis that it is impossible to move ahead step by step;
5. we needed a survey of resources (especially minerals) and a survey of social structure and human resources. We needed pilot projects. The main problem is to help youth. The population explosion was going to create a terrific need for jobs.

Dr. Fagley: Developmental projects are an integral part of world security. We note that the policy of the U.S.S.R. nowadays stresses this more and more. We need to have a much more dynamic concept of a developmental project than the one under which we are now operating. The Church indeed must work to create the climate, public opinion and political will within the Western countries, and in order to do so she must become more seriously committed to the developmental assistance programme.

Mr. Munby: The U.K. is already doing a great deal of investing overseas but chiefly in developed countries. I believe this could be transferred to underdeveloped countries.

<u>Mr. Edwards</u>: The problem is how to convince politicians.

<u>Professor de Vries</u>: It can be done by showing that the interest of all is at stake, including their own countries.

<u>Professor Pfeffer, (Germany)</u> said he would like to hear Professor Niculescu's comment on the relations between various developmental pro-jects in the same geographical area, e.g. Conakry and the Volta Power Scheme.

<u>Professor Niculescu</u>: It is not a problem of competition among projects. The Common Market of Europe provides a means for a united approach to the countries of Africa. But we must keep before the Churches the problems of economic development throughout the whole of Africa.

<u>Dr. Clifford Earle</u> said that first he would like to take note of the enormous amounts the U.S.S.R. is spending on a developmental assistance programme. Second, he believes that the Church can truly be the Church only in the kind of tension we are experiencing here in this session.

<u>Mr. van Randwijck</u>: Besides the question of raising money in the West, there is an even more crucial problem of how to spend that money effi-ciently in the underdeveloped countries.

<u>Professor Kuin</u>: We must be more careful in our use of <u>terms</u>. Not all the flow of capital from the West to Asia and Africa is in the form of <u>aid</u>. Sometimes it is an investment and sometimes a loan or credit. Also, the picture is not altogether dark. There are areas where the spirit of development has caught on and the rate of domestic savings is markedly stepping up.

A P P E N D I X

PAPERS FOR THE CONSULTATION

THE TASK OF MISSIONS

IN RELATION TO COLONIALISM AND NATIONALISM

By P   / Dr. H.-W. Gensichen

The concepts of colonial   and nationalism are on everyone's lips today, although it is only during   last fifty years that they have come into existence. They have one drawback in c   mon with many other popular "-isms": when people talk about colonialism or natio   lism, they usually do not just discuss objectively a universally-recognized phe   menon, but they also make a value-judgment on it. This means a blurring of the contours of two separate concepts.

It is true, no one will defend the attitude of that European lady in Kenya who declared to a visitor as late as 1957, "This country would be a paradise but for the natives." But the same lady would certainly have had very definite views about the wickedness of Russia's policy of expansion. Everyone will certainly understand Nehru's feelings when he recalls the time when his country was "a colonial appendage of the British structure." But one becomes reflective when one realizes that this same Nehru views India's own colonial expansion between 100 B.C. and 900 A.D. (when it spread over the whole of Southeast Asia) in quite a different light from Western colonialism(1).

In the case of nationalism people's judgment is equally inconsistent. The attitude of President Nasser and the policy of the Indonesians toward the Dutch have evoked strong reactions from states which often show almost equal ruthlessness in enforcing their own national claims. The new state of Ghana is criticized for being nationalistic, whereas nothing is said about similar tendencies in Israel.

The view taken of colonialism and nationalism is clearly strongly influenced by the observer's position. In order to eliminate this confusing factor, one might try to reduce things to a common denominator by regarding colonialism as a particular variety of nationalist thought and action, and recognizing a basic difference between Western and Eastern nationalism. Western nationalism could then be defined as quasi-religious, inasmuch as it always tends to idolize the state. The Eastern form, on the other hand, could be regarded just as a historical reaction to the colonial policy of the West, free from religious implications. The Christian attitude would then be clear: it could approve Eastern nationalism without scruple, but not Western nationalism (2).

But the situation must not be over-simplified. The religious element must not be overlooked in Eastern nationalism, either. One need only recall the temple in Benares where "Mother India" is worshipped with the help of a map of India, or the nationalism of the peoples of Islam, or the significance of Shintoism for Japan. All this is only said by way of introduction to point out how complicated the whole problem really is, and what difficulties it creates for the Christian Church and its missions -- especially in the case of mission work in a colony, of missionaries who are citizens of a colonial power and of an area which is just developing a nationalism of its own, perhaps inspired by the Western pattern.

1) The Discovery of India, London, 1951, pp.178 ff.

2) Cf. J.A.Verdoorn, De Zending en het Indonesische Nationalisme, Amsterdam, 1945.

A further complicating factor is that the crisis of colonialism, on the one hand, and the awakening of nationalism on the other are in quite different stages of development in the different countries. The Gordian knot cannot be cut simply by declaring that colonialism is dead and buried. It is true that between 1940 and 1950 the number of people in the world living under colonial domination fell from 750 million to 200 million. But of these 200 million in 1950, nearly four-fifths were living in Africa which thus can still be considered as a bulwark of colonialism.

Even without examining all aspects of the questions which arise, we can perceive certain basic lines in the historical development which may be helpful for a better understanding of the problems, this being our sole concern. We understand colonialism to mean all the efforts made by Western states to expand overseas -- taking account primarily of the political dependence of the overseas areas and only secondly of their economic dependence. For economic dependence exists today in many forms even where one cannot speak of imperialistic-colonial domination. Thus all attempts in colonial countries to achieve political independence are to be described as nationalism, no matter what their form or degree of success. As we are only examining the problem in its effect on the attitude of the missions, we shall not go into the consequences for the younger churches.

The Historical Link Between Missions and Colonialism

If we wish to trace the different ways in which missions have been linked with colonialism, we must go back to the beginning of the overseas missions at the end of the Middle Ages. At that time a synthesis developed between missions and colonization which was rooted in the idea of a unified theocratic culture and developed under the impulse of the great discoveries of the age; this synthesis remained in effect for centuries.

Columbus himself may be taken as an example. Not only were his voyages of discovery stimulated by the reports of missionaries; they were also undertaken (as he himself states) in order to spread the Christian faith. The instructions he received from Ferdinand and Isabella also stressed the missionary task which, after the second expedition in 1493 was undertaken by a whole group of missionaries who traveled with him. The same thing happened on all the subsequent Spanish colonial expeditions. Charles V issued a decree that every fleet sent out must include missionaries (1526). Hence the saying, which seems a striking paradox today, that the Spanish conquistadores brought the Gospel in one hand and the sword in the other. Christianization meant subjection to Spanish influence. Resistance to either involved cruel punishments. The fact that Pizarro laid his cloak at the feet of the missionaries and had the cross carried before him did not prevent him from perpetrating the most appalling acts of cruelty in its name and from paralyzing mission-work by exterminating hundreds of potential converts. There were indeed some protests against this, but they could not break the link between colonial expansion and Christian missions.

In practice, if not in intention, missions were degraded into an instrument of colonialism. At the same time, especially in the Spanish colonies, the theocratic ideal was also realized in a different way, i.e. through direct colonization by the mission; of this the most famous example is the Jesuit state in Paraguay. Later on, too, when the power of Spain had begun to decline and even after the expulsion of the Jesuits, it was "missionaries acting under the propulsive power of Christianity, who continued to enlarge Spanish domains." (1)

1) K.S.Latourette, _A History of the Expansion of Christianity_, Vol.III, p.159.

This may be regarded as a step forward in comparison with the age of Spanish conquest. But it raises the question whether missions had really solved the dilemma of serving two masters.

The colonial expansion of Portugal presents a similar picture. As a result of the papal arbitration of 1493, Portugal was forced to turn towards the conquest of the East. Even in the 15th century the popes had authorized Portugal to acquire colonies in the East and to send missionaries there. The works written on church law and on the theory of missions at that time endeavoured to provide legal and theological justification for this system. They either represented the political subjugation of the pagan peoples as an essential condition for missions or at the very least they justified the use of strong reprisals if the natives refused to accept Christianity. Many theologians even went so far as to justify slavery as a punishment for pagan idolatry. Even a great missionary leader like Francis Xavier accepted the system to a large extent -- although he certainly cannot be placed in the same category as the average colonial missionary. He was seriously concerned about converting the whole of India and Ceylon; in 1548 he therefore requested the King of Portugal to relieve the missionaries of the responsibility of converting the heathen and to make the state governors responsible for it. "In order to Christianize the whole of India (!) it would be sufficient for Your Majesty to have one governor seriously punished just once." (1) Thereupon the king gave orders for Hinduism to be suppressed by force and for converts to Christianity to receive material support (by way of enticement); but this did little to promote the growth of the Church and certainly did nothing to strengthen it spiritually.

The decline of Portugal as a colonial power was bound to affect the missions which it sponsored, thus showing that the close tie between the Church and the colonial policy of the state acted to prevent people from accepting the Church's message. It is not surprising that a modern Asian historian regards the Christian missions of that time purely as a "political matter" which ceased to have any influence after the colonial power came to an end.(2) The civilizing and pedagogic achievements of missions were incontestible; but they could not counterbalance the disastrous consequences of the alliance between missions and colonialism. The same applies to the missionary campaigns undertaken by the Russian Orthodox Church in Northern Asia in the 17th and 18th centuries. In this case the Byzantine tradition of theocracy ensured that, with a few exceptions, little distinction was made between "Russianization" and Christianization.

The Colonialism of the Protestant Powers

The rise of the Protestant colonial powers, Holland and England, in the 17th century shows a picture that was different in many ways. In contrast to the imperialistic character of the expansion of Spain and Portugal in the age of discovery, the motives for colonization now became economic and mercantile. Viceroys and governors were replaced by trading companies and their officials; material gain became the foremost aim of colonial policy. The connection between these objectives and certain characteristics of Calvinist theology and piety has often been observed and sometimes exaggerated. If in the new era of colonialism, too, missions were closely linked with colonization, the reason lay elsewhere; it was due to the state church structure of the Protestant countries. After Melanchthon the general Protestant view had been that the ruler of a country was reponsible not only for

1) Letters of Francis de Xavier, E. Gräfin Vitzthum, Leipzig, 1939, p.112
2) K.M.Panikkar, Asien und die Herrschaft des Westens, Zürich, 1955, p.343 ff.

enforcing the second Table of the Decalogue, i.e. the "iustitia civilis", but also
the first Table, which meant looking after the spiritual welfare of his subjects.
This meant, first of all, looking after the spiritual needs of the white people in
the colonies. But the needs of the natives could not be ignored either. The
colonial policy of Holland and of England therefore allowed a certain amount of
scope to mission-work, even though hesitantly and reluctantly.

Inasmuch as missions were bound up with colonial policy (as was the case espe-
cially with the Dutch colonies) it was almost impossible to distinguish Protestant
from Roman Catholic colonial missions. The first governor general of the Dutch East
India Company was expressly instructed to do two things which were of equal import-
ance: to promote Dutch trade and to spread the Christian faith. The natives were
to show their political loyalty to the new colonial power by adopting the Calvinist
faith, whether they had previously been Roman Catholics or pagans. They had hardly
any choice in the matter, because it was the only way in which they could obtain
the protection of the colonial power against their enemies and against the Moslems.
The preachers attached to the Dutch East India Company received so much per head
for every native who was baptized, and the converts also received a reward. Any
reluctance to accept Christianity and any reversion to paganism was punished. There
were exceptions to these rules, especially in the mission in Formosa, and energetic
protests were raised against it. But writers like K.S.Latourette come to the con-
clusion that in Ceylon, at any rate, the Dutch colonial authorities "appear to have
given Protestantism more aggressive and systematic support" (1) than the Portuguese
had done. No basic change could take place until a new sense of freedom of church
from state enabled a new beginning to be made -- and then usually in conflict with
the colonial power.

However, the policy of Holland was the exception rather than the rule in compa-
rison with the policy of the other Protestant colonial powers of the 17th and 18th
centuries. Both in the English and in the Danish colonies, the clergy who were sent
to the colonies (usually only for short periods) scarcely troubled at all about
converting the natives, and there was no question of any systematic integration of
missions in colonial policy.

Colonialism in Its Latest Stage

The latest period of colonialism, which started in the second half of the 19th
century, when the colonial powers tried to acquire possessions overseas (mainly for
imperialistic reasons) exhibits almost no examples of "missionary colonialism" of
the old type. In the Western countries the estrangement between state and church
had gone too far for theocratic ideas to have much influence. This did not prevent
the colonial authorities in many areas from turning the cooperation of the missions
to their own account, without identifying their official aims with those of the
missions. Where colonial policy aimed at assimilating the natives as far as possible
it enlisted the help of the missions, especially of the mission schools, and deve-
loped the tendency to treat missionaries of their own nationality with preference.
The predominance of the Roman Church in many Western countries contributed much to
this policy. In areas where the aim was not so much "assimilation" as "adaptation"
of the colored peoples (as in the British colonies, which aimed at gradually inte-
grating them into modern civilization, while preserving race distinctions and re-
taining control in the hands of the colonial power) missions were also able to fill

1) Op.cit., p.292.

an important pedagogic function.. Shortly before the second World War an attempt was
made to deduce a third type of policy from certain postulates of German mission
theory and practice. This talked about "nativization", meaning "shaping the life
of the colored peoples in the colonies in accordance with their native culture."
According to this theory colonial policy and missions were to cooperate, each in
their appropriate sphere, in preserving the native culture. (1.)

Germany never had the chance to put this policy into practice, because the brief
period of German colonial domination came to an end in 1918 with the first World
War. As long as this period lasted, however, the German missions were prone to the
same temptation as the missionaries of the other great colonial powers: not only
to seek protection from the colonial authorities in case of necessity, but to allow
the authorities to prepare the way for spreading the Christian message. The best-
known example of this is the history of missions in East Asia where the missions
were involved in the "unequal treaties" whereby the Western powers secured their own
interests in China. The same idea kept cropping up in Anglo-Saxon missionary
circles where it was felt that the expansion of the British Empire or, later on, of
the "American way of life" was the best way of promoting the Kingdom of God.

All that really remained of the old synthesis between colonialism and missions,
however, was a limited alliance for practical purposes, based on the realization of
their mutual responsibility for the spread of civilization. Since then the de-
masking of the "Christian West", the breakdown of Western imperialism as a result of
two world wars, the triumph of secularism and of communism, and most of all the rise
of nationalism among the peoples of Asia and Africa, have created a new situation,
which has led to a crisis in traditional Western colonialism and in the missions
attached to it. But there is another aspect to the problem: this change is partly
due to the work of the missions, which for a long time have helped to counterbalance
colonialism. In what follows we shall examine this aspect of the problem.

Protests By The Missionaries.

It may almost be set forth as a law in the history of missions that whenever
colonialism and missions threatened to become too closely allied, warnings and pro-
tests were heard from the missionary movement. An outstanding example during the
era of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism was Bartolomeo de Las Casas. At the be-
ginning as a colonist he had taken advantage of the Indians, pressing them into
forced labor. But afterwards he became a priest and an advocate of the oppressed,
advocating the conversion of the natives without the use of force (always in face
of strong opposition from the white colonists.) If in the course of time Spanish
colonial legislation endeavoured to enforce a more humane treatment of the Indians,
this was directly due to Las Casas and his followers, whose names are less famous.
It is true that they did not directly attack the system of colonial missions or
destroy it. But his "love for the endangered soul of his people" which, in the
words of Reinhold Schneider, made Las Casas "the strongest critic of Spain," moved
him to call with prophetic power and merciless sincerity for the purification of
missionary aims and methods, insofar as this was possible within the existing
system.
     Similar protests were raised during the era of Dutch colonial missions. They
were strengthened by the argument that in spreading the Protestant faith one must
not revert to the methods used by Roman Catholic missions. There was no place for
force in matters of faith, it was now maintained, because force could not arouse
love. At best it could only effect an appearance of conversion. There were endless

1) H.T.Becker, Die Kolonialpädogogik der grossen Mächte, Hamburg, 1939.

complaints about the superficiality of the conversions to Christianity, which were inevitable as a result of mass baptism. They were even taken up by Voetius, the great writer on missions. But he and his friends were only voices crying in the wilderness.

The change which destroyed the old link between colonialism and missions was ultimately brought about not in the Dutch mission but in the Lutheran-pietist mission of Tranquebar in South India. New impulses had been apparent there from the very beginning. The first two missionaries were sent out in 1705 by King Frederick IV of Denmark, merely to fulfill his governmental obligations. But he gave permission for the missionaries to be free from the jurisdiction of the Danish colonial clergy, nor did he hold aloof from cooperating with the Halle pietism movement and with English groups friendly toward it and in the ecumenical extension of the work which this implied. He also refused to give his approval to the attempt to turn the project into an exclusively Danish enterprise. What had been fought out in Copenhagen by the Pietists and enforced with the help of the Court had to be obtained by the missionaries working in India through hard struggles with the representative of the Danish East India Company. Their efforts were crowned with success. The appeal sent out by the Copenhagen Mission Board (founded in 1714) was addressed to church leaders in all countries, and indeed to all Christians who were concerned for God's cause in the world. Although missions still continued to expect and to accept governmental support, this did not alter the fact that the basic link between missions and secular power had been broken. In principle, if not yet in fact, the ecumenical view had overcome the colonialist view of missions.

This opened the way not only to the far-reaching influence of the Tranquebar Mission (its influence continued until the awakening of Anglo-Saxon missions at the beginning of the 19th century and even later). It also led to that great spiritual expansion of Protestant missions without which the modern history of missions is inconceivable, and during the course of which missions again and again opposed colonialism and were the protagonists of the colonial peoples. The list of examples is a long one. It extends from the missionaries of the Moravian Brethren who, in the West Indies, themselves accepted slavery for the sake of the negroes to the English pioneers against the slave trade and slavery, and up to the German mission-theologians of the end of the 19th century who energetically opposed the influence of the sudden wave of colonialism in German missions. At that time one German newspaper urged German missionaries "to throw the English bloodsuckers out and re-install the teaching of true Christianity and Christian morals." It was an important step when, in face of such proposals, Gustav Warneck clearly explained that missions "did not take their orders from colonial associations and politicians but from their heavenly Lord, Jesus Christ."

The phrase becomes significant when one considers, like Hendrik Kraemer, that "the philosophy of pure imperialism is lived, rather than discussed." (1) The fact that imperialistic colonialism was not only criticized from the pulpit, but also curbed in practice, was the outcome of a watchfulness in which missions played the decisive part. From this point of view the gradual humanization of colonial policy in the 19th century assumes as much importance as the theological debates of the period concerning the "supra-national" character of missions — however anachronistic both may appear to us today when two world wars and the development of a global civilization have irreparably shaken the colonial system and world missions have reconsidered their own evangelistic task.

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1) Evang. Missions-Magazin 1936, p.369.

Nationalism a New Factor

This paper could end here if one could assume that the problem of the relation between colonialism and missions merely had to be worked out between the representatives of these two authorities. But in actual fact there is a third factor involved in the discussions, in earlier times usually passive and silent but today taking energetic part in the debate: the people and nations who have felt the impact of colonialism and missions. In their view things assume a different perspective: they regard colonialism, whether theocratic, mercantile or imperialist in character, as a form of foreign domination which is opposed to their own desires, even if it employs humane methods and comes forward as the protector of "under-developed" peoples. However clear missions make the distinction between themselves and colonialism, they are always in danger of being suspected of being a form of foreign penetration. Here nationalism comes into the picture and has rightly been described by R.Pierce Beaver as "one of the chief dimensions of the missionary situation": it has to be reckoned with everywhere today.

We cannot examine here all the factors which have promoted the rise and growth of nationalism, especially as this development has taken a very different course in different areas, and the nationalism of the colonial era often bore a different aspect from the nationalism of independent peoples. As Kraemer perceived, "There is no such thing as nationalism in the abstract." (1)

In the relations between missions and nationalism, two things are particularly important. The spirit of nationalism which has taken possession of the peoples of Asia and Africa is at once a reaction against foreign colonial domination and an adoption of Western patterns. It has often met with sympathy and encouragement from missions. This applies not only to the efforts to train an indigenous minority and to develop indigenous forms of church life, but also to the sphere of politics, culture and society. "Christ never by teaching or example resisted or withstood the spirit of true nationalism," the Edinburgh Conference stated as early as 1910. And an American study of the missionary situation after the first World War said that it was part of the task of missions "to promote and to guide national ambitions to high ends." That was the spirit in which the missionary C.F.Andrews (whom the Indians called "the brother of Gandhi") conceived the struggle against colonialism and the awakening of the Indian nation on the lines indicated by the Mahatma. Moreover, such views often included the idea of autonomous nations cooperating on the higher level of a harmonious internationalism.

In this spirit the missionaries in China have also continuously worked to overcome the resentment which still lingered on from the time of the "unequal treaties" and of Western domination. In spite of setbacks and persecutions they felt they were helping to build up a new China. The Koreans even regarded the Christian Church at one time as its main ally in the struggle against Japanese domination, although in this case the missions deliberately held aloof so as to avoid being drawn into the political struggle. (2)

The more people in the West criticized their own state and its ambitions and the stronger nationalism became with all its totalitarian daemonic possibilities, the more missions held aloof. This also applies to their relations with nationalism in the East in its different forms. This is clear from the statements made by the international missionary conferences since the Jerusalem Conference in 1928.

1) H.Kraemer, Mission und Nationalismus, Basle, 1948, p. 7.
2) R.P.Beaver, Nationalism and Missions, Church History, Vol.XXVI, No.1, March,1957.

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Moreover, without this spirit of self-criticism it would hardly have been possible to maintain intact a certain amount of unity in missions even throughout the second World War, at any rate to a far greater extent than after the first World War.

At the same time -- and this is the second fact that is essential to an understanding of the attitude of missions to nationalism -- it was by this time apparent how closely the nationalism of the peoples of Asia and Africa was bound up with the renaissance of non-Christian religions. Thirty years ago the European observer could still have the impression that the national movements were at last throwing off their religious ties. The secularization of Turkey and certain stages in the career of Gandhi after the first World War seemed to exclude any other interpretation. Had not "pure, political, a-religious nationalism"(1) won the day?

Today with the exception of China the picture has changed. If Gandhi encouraged the cult of "Mother India", apparently in contradiction to his ideals, he was only taking up religious impulses which had already been awakened by other pioneers of the movement for India's liberation: by men like Aurobindo Ghose who described nationalism as a "religion" which enabled people "to realize God in the nation." Moreover, the pious Hindu knew that it was only in India (in the "Karmabhumi Bharata") that it was possible to absorb the fruits of deeds committed in previous incarnations in such a way as to improve one's Karma. Even the gods had to be born in this unique "land of Karma" if they ever wished to attain full redemption. One did not have to look far in India in order to find religious sanction for modern nationalism. The revival of Shintoism in Japan since the war may be even more significant.

How this relationship between religion and nationalism will continue to develop in the future is, indeed, a separate question. Asian church leaders have described the present situation by saying that "religion is made part of the comprehensive this-worldly and secular force of nationalism." (2) So that even if nationalism regards religion only as a tool which it can exploit for its own purposes, it is still linked up with religion. And in cases of doubt one may trust the integrating force of the old Eastern religions rather more than less.

What missions should do in the midst of this tense situation -- the conflict between decaying colonialism on the one hand and rising nationalism, often rooted in religion, on the other -- cannot be formulated in concrete rules which will apply to every situation. In so far as we can learn anything from history, we can only indicate general principles which require developing and applying in different ways according to circumstances. Such indications are useful only on condition that the missions make no decisions and enter into no commitments which would be contrary to the living responsible conscience of Christians in Asia and Africa.

Within these limits it is to be expected that missions will free themselves from all ties of colonialism and from the colonialist outlook, by which they are still influenced to some extent. It is no longer sufficient to recognize and take account of graded distinctions between the different forms of colonial rule. Even imperialistic colonialism can no longer afford to use the questionable methods of the past. On the other hand, if missions have a clear conception of their evangelistic task they will not hesitate to seize every opportunity that occurs, in order to encourage colonial rule to be more humane. But this does not lead to the heart of the decision

1) W.Freytag, Der Nationalismus Jungasiens in seinem Verhältnis zu Religion und Christentum, Die deutsche evang. Heidenmission, Jahrbuch 1929, p.21
2) Christianity and the Asian Revolution, published by R.B.Manikam, Madras, 1954, p.114.

to be taken, any more than does the cry to "internationalize" missions. Perhaps it is too much to expect every missionary to be a "citizen of no country" (as was said of Dr. Guido Verbeck, the great American medical missionary who worked in Japan in the 19th century.) But the instructions laid upon the Christians in the early Church by the letter of Diognet should be the motto of every missionary today: "Every foreign land is their fatherland, and yet for them every fatherland is a foreign land." (1) Only in this way can the missionary movement show that it is seriously endeavoring to cope with the problem of its own past. In other words, the decision demanded is not so much a question of missionary "strategy" as of theological insight, self-discipline and love.

It is only on this basis that the right relationship can be found with the nationalism of the young nations of the non-Western world. It is not primarily a question of political attitude, although this cannot be completely excluded. In 1954 Roman Catholic Christians in Madagascar asked their bishops whether they might associate themselves with the movement to liberate Madagascar from the colonial rule of France. The bishops replied in a pastoral letter, drawing attention to the freedom of the nations guaranteed by natural law. The letter stated that they should "recognize the justification of the claim to independence and all constructive efforts to achieve it", but that they must issue a warning against hatred and aberrations. A sharp protest from the government of the colony was the direct result.

But more important than direct statements of opinion in individual cases is the spirit in which missions carry out their whole work, and the way they show by their example that one cannot serve two masters. Anyone who fails to cope with his own nationalism cannot expect people to listen to him when he warns them about the evils of nationalism in the East. Unless we do our utmost to weaken the stumbling-block of"foreign- ness" which is always associated with the Christian message because it is brought by foreigners (apart from the stumbling-block already inherent in the message of the Cross), we must not be surprised if people pay no attention to our warnings about the perversion of nationalism into a pagan religion or into a-religious secularism. The only way in which missions today can steer their course between colonialism and nationalism is to set an example of responsible Christian life in this world. This would not be merely co-existence with men but what has been called "pro-existence":"enduring all things for the elect's sake" (II Tim.2: 10) and for the world's sake. "According to how we live with Christ or do not live with Christ, we are a part of God's mission or we stand in its way." (2)

1) Translated by E.R.Fairweather in 'Early Christian Fathers.'
2) W. Freytag, International Review of Missions, 1958, p.170.

A CONTINENTAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY LOOKS AT "MISSIONS AND COLONIALISM":

SOME EXPERIENCES OF THE BASLE MISSION.

By H. Witschi

I. The Colonial Period

1. In the past colonialism did not present any <u>problem of conscience</u> for the
Churches and missionary organizations in the home country. The right to dominate the
peoples of Asia and Africa was never questioned. The conviction of the <u>superiority</u>
of the Western nations and of the white race as a whole was shared by the Churches and
the missions.

Thus, without realizing it, the pioneer missionaries in Hongkong and Southern
China profited by the Peace of Nanking. The missions in all the colonies welcomed the
progress made in establishing peace and order because it helped them to proclaim the
Christian message. They accepted encouragement and financial support from the colo-
nial powers for education and medical work, without any serious misgivings.

2. In accepting colonialism the missions did not identify themselves with the
struggle for political power and economic profit. Rather, they tried to inspire in
the colonial powers a sense of duty and the realization that it was their "Christian
mission" to improve the condition of the peoples under their rule. The missions also
helped to strengthen the colonial powers' sense of responsibility in developing the
cultural, economic and social life of the colonies.

A classic example of this is the <u>Memorandum</u> written by the Basle missionary,
Schrenk, which he successfully presented to the English parliament in 1865 at a time
when the English government wanted to give up its protectorate over the Gold Coast.
He draws attention to the pioneer work of civilization done by the missions on the
Gold Coast, which could only be continued under "a just English administration":

"England, as a Protestant country, has received a special mission from God among
the uncivilized peoples. This task must be carried out by the peaceful appli-
cation of moral and commercial superiority! For 300 years the English, and
other nations have done a great deal of harm to Africa. It is England's duty to
repair this harm.".

3. In their capacity as bearers of the Christian message, missions had to struggle
not only against bad native customs like indigenous slavery but also <u>against the ex-
ploitation and destructive influence of the colonial powers.</u> And they always advo-
cated the rights of the natives. The trade and industrial enterprises organized by
the missions set an example of clean business dealings, and deliberately abstained
from importing alcohol or weapons. The missions also intervened on behalf of the
natives when there was a threat to deprive them of their land in favor of European
planters in the Cameroons.

4. Respect for man as made in the image of God, whatever his color or race, and for the divinely-appointed differences between peoples, led missions to take account of particular national characteristics, in face of the tendency to reduce everything to the same level in the process of civilizing native people. The continental missions made it obligatory for their missionaries to learn the native languages, they taught them in their schools, and developed them into literary languages by translating the Bible into them. They tried to establish real contact with the native peoples and with their cultural tradition by studying their language, their customs and their religion.

One may note the report of the Basle Mission to the German Colonial Office concerning the schools in the Cameroons in 1913: "We are convinced that a solid education adapted to the present level of the people would be of more service to the colony than a precipitate and necessarily superficial Germanization."

In spite of the Anglicization which took place later on in the Cameroons, India, and the Gold Coast, especially in the secondary schools, the Mission continued to foster the use of the native languages.

5. The message with which the missions have been entrusted concerning the Lordship of Jesus Christ impels missions (in their conflict with colonial powers) to advocate freedom to preach the Christian message and to form congregations, and also to advocate forms of community which are in accordance with the Word of God.

Dependence on the colonial governments has by no means always meant protection and encouragement. It has often been an obstacle, especially in Mohammedan areas. Another instance is the island of Bali where missions (including the Basle Mission) were forbidden.

The norm for a Christian order of life was primarily the Word of God, not primitive traditions or European customs. This often had repercussions far beyond the Christian congregation (cf. respect for women, marriage and the family, the ethics of work, etc., although polygamy could not be completely eradicated.)

A letter from the Basle Mission to the German Foreign Office concerning a project for the Mission to start work in the Cameroons in 1886 is an example of an objective independent attitude:

"Quite exclusive of any political aims, the purpose of the Basle Missionary Society is to propagate Protestant Christianity among the heathen and to gather them into Christian communities. By opening schools for the natives the Mission tries to enable them to read the Bible and give them a Christian education. By setting up higher schools it endeavors to train teachers and preachers. It tries to foster the religious and moral life of the congregations by setting up a church discipline which is in accordance with the Bible.

The Mission considers it as its duty to preserve the national characteristics of the native peoples, unless they conflict with Christianity. The Mission therefore does everything it can to encourage the native language in its schools.

In order to be able to work in accordance with these principles, the Missionary Society requires freedom of movement, similar to that which it has been granted on the Gold Coast. It is only on this condition that it could undertake the work."

Among the rights insisted upon by the Mission was the right "to prohibit trade in alcohol and the sale of liquor on property belonging to the Mission and to the congregations." It also demanded the right "to be able to make independent decisions about arrangements in the churches and schools, and to maintain a Christian way of life and church discipline among the congregations."

6. However, in the work and attitude of missions the idea that it was their duty to proclaim their Lord became overshadowed by the idea (with its strong pedagogical impact) that as "superior", "Christian" nations, they had a mission to the backward peoples. In practice they claimed for themselves the subject-object relationship which belongs solely to the Lord of the Church.

This explains why many things in the organization and structure of their work were modelled on the colonial system. The solid basis of mission work, with its network of permanent stations, with the status and authority of a great European staff, had its headquarters in Europe, and to a certain extent this is still the case.

On the other hand, the fact that native churches were founded and built, with theological training colleges for native pastors (ever since 1862 in India, for example) shows that missions really took seriously the conception of native churches living directly from the Word of God and claimed directly for the service of Christ.

What was fatal was that the really independent native church was regarded as the ultimate goal only after an indefinitely long process of maturing under colonial rule, and that the new native churches which were springing up under the protection of missions were regarded as branches and offshoots of the home churches which should have the same forms and confessional characteristics.

II. Transition and the present situation

1. Although the missionaries belonging to the Basle Mission were reserved in their attitude toward political questions, not being members of a colonial power, they nevertheless warmly welcomed the national liberation in India, Indonesia and Ghana. In Indonesia, especially, under the influence of Prof. Hendrik Kraemer, they shared the "progressive" attitude of most of the Dutch missionaries. This attitude includes recognition of the inherent justice of the national movement for independence among the colonial peoples.

They urged the native churches attached to them to cooperate as Christian minorities in building up their own nation, and to advocate freedom of conscience, freedom to preach and freedom to evangelize as part of the state constitution. In contrast to certain newspapers, they endeavoured and are still endeavouring, to awaken sympathy and understanding for the freedom and the organization of the young nations.

2. In the present relations between the governments of the new independent states and the missions there is a difference today between West Africa and Asia.
   a. Ghana. On the day when Ghana was liberated (January, 1957) and ever since, there has been no lack of official recognition of the part played by missions in developing the country. There were no difficulties about obtaining visas. On the contrary, the new state welcomed the fact that more teachers were available to teach in the higher schools, and more medical staff to treat the sick. The relations between the missions and the authorities are excellent, public opinion is friendly, and the missions have complete freedom to evangelize among non-Christians.

b. _Asia_. In India, as in Indonesia, the state guarantees religious freedom and freedom to evangelize. But the attacks from Hindu extremists have become stronger. It is hardly possible any more for white missionaries to practice public evangelism among non-Christians. The controversial official Nyogi Report expresses a hostile attitude (cf. also the book by Pannikar). Within the churches the work of our missionaries has not been disturbed. In granting visas to ordained missionaries, the government shows great reserve. The old continental missionary societies like the Basle Mission suffer more from this than those which belong to the Commonwealth. Between 1952 and 1957 we were unable to send out a single theologian to India. On the other hand, developments in the communist state of Kerala have so far not increased the difficulty of mission work.

In Indonesia (Java, Kalimantan) since the resumption of the work in 1946, apart from some delays in obtaining visas, there have been no difficulties about sending out missionaries, or about their work. And recent political events have not increased the difficulties. The population, who are mainly Mohammedan, have remained friendly. But the general situation for white people must be regarded as unstable.

2. Since the second world war there have been big changes in the relations between missions and the churches in Asia and Africa. a) The latter have been recognized as fully autonomous members of the World Council of Churches on equal footing with the home churches; b) Missions with their missionaries and institutions (apart from hospitals) are being integrated into these churches so that eventually missions will give up maintaining their own organization in the mission fields.

We can give as examples, first, a letter from the writer on behalf of the Basle Mission to the Church in Kalimantan before resumption of work after the Japanese occupation of January 17th, 1946:

"We are prepared, if you consider it desirable and if you yourselves wish it, to send out fresh missionaries to South Borneo (today Kalimantan)... We regard the work of the mission with its different branches as work of assistance to the autonomous church, whose independence we respect. As 'helpers of your joy' (II Corinthians 1:24) our missionaries want to send help from the Batak church to the Dayak church... If we regard our work as a modest form of help to it and for it, as a part of its responsibility, we do so in the obedience of faith. We respect you as brothers, because we respect Jesus Christ as the Lord and Master of the Dayak church..."

Another example is a statement, also by the writer (as representative of the Basle Mission), to the Synod of the United Basle Mission Church at South Kanara (India) in the Church of Mangalore, April, 1952:

"Our Mission no longer wants to exist independently of the Church; it wants to work under your direction, and to place its missionaries under your authority. It must not imitate what has happened on the political level. It is not merely, or primarily, a question of property and administration. What we want is rather to find the true relation between the Church and missions in the Biblical sense. With you we should like to see this church become the instrument of God's hand in this country, looking towards Jesus Christ, the Lord of your Church. For over a hundred years the Word of God has been preached to you. Here is the source from which you can draw. The mission can only be instrumental in that. We are all concerned that through this measure God may start a new movement for evangelism in your Church. And may you hear His call, to stand up and be transformed! It is your task to pass on the message of Christ

and in this task we merge ourselves entirely in your own ranks. God Himself is call-
ing you to be a real church of Jesus Christ. In entrusting our work and our mission-
aries to you we honour Him as the Lord who is present among you."

This new form of relationship between missions and the churches is accompanied by
theological reflection concerning the nature and basis of missions and their relation
to the Church of Jesus Christ, as discussed at conferences from Tambaram to Ghana.
It is derived in part from Roland Allan. Professor Hans Dürr of Bern played a par-
ticularly active part in these discussions. The direct personal relationship of
every Church to Christ must be respected. Missions are understood as a vital func-
tion of every church, both at home and abroad,and their ecumenical character is em-
phasized.

In practice, the effect of these measures is that missionaries are sent from the
West only if the churches in Asia and Africa ask for them. The missionaries usually
keep in the background and do not assume posts of responsibility in the churches.
Responsibility for local missionary stations is replaced by special commitments with-
in the church as a whole. As in Ghana these commitments may include entirely fresh
pioneer work in adjoining districts which are still pagan, side by side with native
missionaries.

The property of the missions passes into the hands of the churches. While the
financial receipts are passed on to the churches, the number of ordained missionaries
in the Asian fields has decreased;. but this is not the case in West Africa. And it
does not apply to the staff of the medical mission or the women's mission. A great
need has recently made itself felt for vocational workers. Special attention is be-
ing paid to extending the theological colleges and to scholarships for study in
Europe and America. Representatives of churches in other countries visit the native
churches for deputation work. Contact with Europe no longer takes the form of one-
way traffic but of mutual exchange.

4. We are passing through a transitional period in every sense. The politico-
economic position of the young states in Asia and Africa has not yet been clarified.
The situation in Indonesia has particularly deteriorated. All over the East public
opinion has become more critical of the missions. The events in China have cast
their shadow far.

The native churches want to cooperate with the missions, as long as the latter
are prepared to accept their authority entirely. We refuse to accept an extremist
attitude like that of Gunther Schultz (a former missionary in India) whose slogan is
"No more room for white people." Nevertheless, the missionary societies in the home
countries, their organizers and missionaries, and the churches overseas have to face
many problems. That these are not easy to solve is clear from the Indian book,
"Revolution in Missions," and also from the van Randwijck Memorandum to the Ghana
conference on the"dignity" of missions. The problem is how to integrate the legiti-
mate participation of the Western churches and their missionary societies into the
ministry of our sister churches in Asia and Africa, a ministry which is just as im-
portant for the European churches as for themselves.

La Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris:

Its Past Experiences and Its Present Policy.

By Rev. Pierre Benignus, France

The Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris (S.M.P.) was born in 1822, and from the very outset its projects came into conflict with the Administration. Two of its missionaries, who had been specially chosen and trained in order to start evangelizing in North Africa, were refused passports....

The S.M.P. then directed its activities towards an area in South Africa, Lessutoland (1833), which at that time was not under the jurisdiction of any European power. From Lessutoland the work of the S.M.P. was extended to the Zambezi. This work had no connection with any colonizing power, and was not on French territory.

Let us recall the attempt to start a project in French territory in 1862, in Senegal. This attempt failed owing to lack of staff; those who were there were decimated by the yellow fever.

As the French "conquest" had been over for some time, the S.M.P. began a project in New Caledonia. As we shall see, this project very soon came into conflict with the government.

The other mission-fields belonging to our Society have been taken over from other Missionary Societies. We mention this fact because the origin of most of our mission-fields has certainly influenced and guided the attitude of the S.M.P. in what used to be called the overseas territories:

- the mission-field in the Gaboon (A.E.F.) was taken over from the Presbyterians;

- the projects in Tahiti, Madagascar and the Loyalty Islands were taken over from the London Missionary Society, as the result of political incidents and difficulties, the French government agreeing to the entry of French missionaries;

- as the result of the first world war, Togoland and the Cameroons were taken over from European missionary societies.

Three characteristics of the work of the S.M.P. from the very outset:

Protestantism is a minority religion in France;

the S.M.P. worked in cooperation with the different Protestant churches of France and Switzerland;

the missionaries were not 100% French, but included Swiss and Italians.

Missions during the "colonial" period

a) In France the position of Protestantism is difficult, not only owing to its minority position. During the first half of the 19th century the Protestant Church was just emerging from persecution and a clandestine existence. Then the Church was separated from the State and the Church was completely re-organized. Consequently the whole missionary effort may be regarded as inadequate and too often limited to facing certain given situations (such as taking over certain mission fields.)

b) The aim of the S.M.P. was therefore primarily to maintain the existing work, especially in the field of education.

c) The task was to defend the young Church against the French administration, because it originated in a foreign mission. There was never any question of stressing the French aspect of its work (in the colonial-administration sense). What it wanted to do was to struggle against being labelled as "foreign" and against the old saying that "everything French is Catholic".

d) Very often the S.M.P. has been the guarantor and the spokesman for other foreign missionary societies working in French overseas territories.

e) In New Caledonia, owing to local conditions and to the dangerous fall in the Kanaka population, the mission work very soon came up against certain elements among the French colonists and against the administration, because of its efforts to save the Kanaka race.

f) In Lessutoland the S.M.P. gave advice and made requests to the British protectorate, not as a step towards colonial conquest but in order to defend the native states against South African colonialism. In the Zambezi they struggled against the colonialism of the great chartered companies.

g) The mission carried out educational work, as indicated above. It took over and extended the schools started by foreign missions (as in Madagascar), or started educational projects of its own which later received subsidies from the government.

h) Very often the work of the medical missionaries developed into a health service, as the result of the influence of the Christian spirit (notably in the case of the hospitals for lepers).

i) As far as real social work is concerned, it must be admitted that the S.M.P. has not many achievements to show. But its effort in New Caledonia may be mentioned. In the same field it created an association for native of New Caledonia and of the Loyalty Islands; the origin of this project was non-political, being open to all and hostile to no one. The mission also undertook social work in Madagascar.

j) Youth projects and local groups which drew in a considerable number of young people, attracted by their "original and not typically Western" nature.

On the threshold of independence

The position of our Mission could be summarized as follows.

In the French territories, with the exception of French West Africa, the intellectual elite was usually Protestant; these included the first nationalist leaders. These people were not approved of by the colonial administration because they were Protestants (a religion with which the administration was not well acquainted, which it regarded with some suspicion, and which was reproached for forming personalities), and because of the presence of Protestant foreign missionaries. The S.M.P. never failed to act as guarantor for these nationalist leaders, and always protected them to some extent against the colonial administration.

Usually the S.M.P. appeared less as linked with the administration as the representative and advocate of the Church and the local community in their relations with the administration. One of the most characteristic examples is in Togoland, where two Protestant communities exist in the South side by side. In one of them the majority of members are EWE, clearly anti-governmental; they are represented, and often protected, in their relations with the administration by the S.M.P. In the other group the majority of members are MINA, with pro-governmental tendencies; they are under the jurisdiction of the English Methodist Mission.

The traditional position of the majority of the French governmental authorities could be outlined as follows:

in the countries which were predominantly Moslem, the authority was pro-Moslem;
in the other areas the authority tended to be pro-Catholic (France, the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church and the little sister of Islam).

I. Since 1945 - the dawn of independence
The attitude of the Mission towards the administration, on the one hand, and towards nationalism on the other.

The attitude of the Mission has been constant: it has neither supported nor attacked the colonial administration. The Mission does not regard it as its vocation to take part in party politics; nor does it make any "forum" demonstrations, because it does not wish to involve the Church in politics.

In the present situation of the overseas peoples and the rise of new states, the first responsibility of the Church of Jesus Christ is to announce the coming of God's Kingdom, in face of the kingdoms of this world.

However, this does not mean that the Mission has lost its sense of responsibility in face of the new political situations. It has increased the contacts between those responsible for the mission fields and the government leaders so as to remind the latter of their responsibilities towards the populations under their care in accordance with the Word of God.

The S.M.F. has not supported any political party, and this attitude (it must be admitted) at first irritated the administration and was

often not understood by the nationalist leaders. The leaders of the Christian communities agreed not to hold any political mandate unless they gave up their responsibilities in the Church. (When their political mandate expires they can, of course, resume their responsibilities in the Church.)

The neutrality of the Mission is now more readily recognized by the administration, especially as the result of the intrigues of certain Catholic missions.

The Church in the home-country has a real influence on public life, but not through the political parties.

II. The attitude of the Mission towards the churches and their autonomy (acquired or in course of acquisition)

The formation of independent churches is still the real way to prepare the coming of God's Kingdom. Responsibility for this falls upon the Mission. In our view it is twofold:

a) It is responsible towards the Churches in France which are supporting it.

We in France are faced by the temptation which confronted some Christians at the end of the "empire": "Why should the home-churches continue to give to peoples who are demanding their independence (and obtaining it)?" We must also remember that an independent church which owes its origin to the S.M.P. never automatically becomes a sister-church of a particular church in the home-country, because the S.M.P. is interconfessional. But on this point we have grounds for hope: more Christians in France and Switzerland are giving to the cause, and they are giving more generously. Contributions to missions are more and more becoming part of the normal budget of the Church (usually 20% of their total budget.) The churches in France are also releasing religious leaders from work in the home-country so that they can take up work for the younger churches. The Faculties of Theology are welcoming students and young pastors and arranging a special curriculum for them.

b) Responsibility towards the Younger Churches

The Protestant Church in the Cameroons has been independent since 1957, and the Protestant Church in Madagascar (part of which is under the jurisdiction of the S.M.P.) since April 1958. The Church in the Cameroons became independent just as the country was undergoing a complete political evolution. Some people regarded this as an annoying coincidence, due to political influence...; we do not think so, but it is possible that the two trends reached maturity at the same time... The two statutes of independence are quite different, which we regard as a positive sign. The independence of the Church is not a "Law" duly signed and applicable to all territories, without distinction; that would mean ignoring the spiritual responsibility of the Mission.

The problem of the relations between the Governing Board of Missions in the home-country and the governing body of the independent Younger Churches is one of the most important points in this responsibility here and now.

The independent Church? In our view it is like a pyramid resting on its apex. We must recognize our responsibility for not having trained more leaders in the past, who would be better equipped to face the present situation. Very heavy responsibilities have to be borne by very few people. We must also recognize that we have not defined an ethic, and made those responsible realize the present problems. There has also been a lack of training for citizenship, and Christians are often not sufficiently prepared to assume their political responsibilities. We could not see how to advise the young Christian in this sphere without its becoming too political.

The responsibility, the new form of responsibility of the Mission and of the Churches of France, must be found in the point of this pyramid. In order to define it, a real distinction must be made between the spiritual responsibility of the Mission-Church, with everything it involves in every sphere. Among other things it means re-defining the relations between the Younger Churches and the Mission Board in the home-country. This relationship ought to become more and more enriching - a real partnership, with mutual confidence in every detail. There should be no more need for any intermediary. Outside France itself the Mission has ceased to exist as a body.

The new status of the missionary must be defined as quickly as possible. His position may be modified, in accordance with the present trend, but we must remember that "the letter killeth"; it is the spirit alone that matters. The Church of Jesus Christ in Africa and Oceania needs men who will be loyal to it in good times and in bad ones, not men who are only prepared to give a limited period of time to it. This point of view is clearly not connected with any survival of paternalism, or any desire to remain at all costs. These servants of the Church must always be ready to leave when the spirit decides; but in the meantime they are not "camping", and their suit-cases are unpacked. For instance, in some places on the coast of Africa the Younger Churches are asking for the period of work and the length of furlough both to be shortened, so that they can count on the same men in the same posts.

At the same time the Mission still has heavy responsibilities for the people it sends out. The missionary body is becoming increasingly international; but whatever their origin the missionaries are placed by the S.M.P. at the service of a certain church. They thus have two loyalties, but in our view this system works well, for the Mission is not simply a "pool" of labour.

For the spiritual responsibility is divided in another way, too. There is the whole question of the assignment of posts for which the S.M.P. is responsible to each church, and the posts to which the Younger Church appoints the missionaries placed at its disposal (posts which may be ecclesiastical, educational, medical, or other special forms of work.) The list is freely drawn up by mutual agreement between the Church and the Mission Board, and is subject to annual modification. The evangelistic responsibilities continue to be divided, but the Younger Church remains entirely free. At the same time, in our view, this is a way of combatting the danger of "frustration", which is a real menace for some missionaries.

MISSIONS IN AN ECUMENICAL ERA

by

S.C. Graaf van Randwijck

When speaking today of the challenges to foreign missions as we have known them for the last two hundred years, we do not primarily think of the consequences of the recent great political changes, of the decline of western rule in the world. How important these changes may be for missions -- if only we think of China! -- they do not constitute a challenge to the concept itself of missions, they do not fundamentally call in question the most essential characteristics of the traditional missionary enterprise. Missions have worked under many governments foreign to Christian tradition or even opposed to it and have never been especially keen on Western Government protection. If there were outward advantages for Westerners to live and carry on their business in a Western-dominated country, this certainly did not apply to Christian missions: in spite of good relationships with colonial governments they often suffered under the "colonial cross".

No, the real challenges to the missionary enterprise are due to the new ecclesiastical, not to the new political situation. This new ecclesiastical situation has come about as a consequence of the gradual rediscovery of the church in the decades after the first world war.

The origin of missions dates back to a period when church-consciousness was not very strong in the West. Christianity was still fashionable: open dechristianisation had hardly begun and Western countries were looked upon both in the East and in the West as "Christian" countries. The missionary enterprise tended to be conceived of as part of "the white man's burden" rather than as a specific responsibility of the church. Those who, in Asia, Africa and Latin America accepted the missionaries' message were welcomed as the fruits of their labours rather than as a new branch of the church of Jesus Christ. The organisation of the international missionary council, which was formed in 1921, in some respects still bears the traces of the missionary assumptions of this period. The foreign missionary agencies, not the churches in their whole missionary outreach to the world, constitute the Western members of the International Missionary Council, as if there were no missionary task in the Western world! On the other hand, the representation of the "mission fields" in the I.M.C. was based upon the younger churches as such, not upon their missionary agencies, as if these younger churches did not themselves, by virtue of their being churches, participate in the missionary calling of the world-wide church.

Today these missionary assumptions are out of date. To put it more precisely: our generation has discovered their essential theological weakness in that they did not conceive of missions as a task of the church and resulting in an extension of the church. The World Council of Churches, being a council of churches is therefore based upon sounder theological assumptions than its elder sister-organisation, the International Missionary Council. Apart from that the rediscovery of the church has for a long time been a revolutionizing force in the world-wide missionary movement in other respects as well: it has led churches in the West to take over missionary responsibility hitherto carried by societies and it has pushed Christians in Asia, Africa and Latin America to constitute themselves as autonomous churches. All these consequences of the rediscovery of the church, of taking the church more

seriously than before in the home-bases of missions and, more especially still, in
what used to be called "the mission fields", are meant when we describe the chal-
lenge to the missionary enterprise as "missions in an ecumenical era". These con-
sequences are so considerable that we cannot yet fully assess their revolutionizing
force in its effect upon the future shape of "foreign missions". Some of the
problems they entail will be discussed here.

The International Missionary Council in its first large post-war meeting at
Whitby (1947) formulated some of the consequences of the rediscovery of the church
and of the ecumenical vision upon the missionary enterprise. It coined the expression
"partnership in obedience" to denote the new relationship between older and younger
churches in regard to personnel, finance, policy and administration. The council
expressed its desire that the younger churches would "now put away once for all
every thwarting sense of dependence on the older churches and that under the guid-
ance of God the Holy Spirit, they (would) take their stand firmly on the true
ground of absolute spiritual equality and of their right to manage their own affairs,
to frame their own policies and to bear their own distinctive witness in the world,
as the instrument by which God wills to bring to Christ the whole population of the
lands in which they dwell". As a consequence of this vision the missionary is no
longer sent by his mission, but "invited by the (younger) church"; he should "regard
himself as subject to its direction and its discipline". "The younger church
should have the right to issue, or to withhold, an invitation for the missionary
to return to its service after the first period of leave in his home country".
With one limitation (the use of earmarked gifts for the purpose for which they are
given) "final responsibility for the expenditure of funds must remain with the
church of the area in which the money is to be spent". All this was seen against
an essentially missionary background: "The younger churches are preparing themsel-
ves to face the immense task of evangelizing the great non-Christian populations
around them. They wish to make it clear that they desire to have the help of mis-
sionaries from the older churches not only in their institutional but also in their
evangelistic and pioneer work." And "from the older churches the younger churches
are asking for literally thousands of men and women as missionary helpers" for work
in unevangelized lands, for work in areas where doors are closing, for church-
building in mass-movement areas and for training of national leaders.

The Willingen meeting of the International Missionary Council (1952), in spite
of some shifts of accent, did not essentially modify the Whitby vision of partner-
ship in obedience. The Ghana Assembly (1957/58), in spite of some allusions to
problems in this sphere, did not enter into a real discussion as to whether the
Whitby findings were still relevant to the present situation. Judging from the
official pronouncements of the highest council authority, one might think that the
International Missionary Council had no reason for considering a readjustment of
the Whitby vision to more recent experience. Yet the Whitby findings are no final
solution of the problem of "missions in an ecumenical era"; they are being challenged
by subsequent trends in missionary practice, literature and conference pronounce-
ments and will in spite of their durable missionary wisdom, have to be reconsidered
in the light of these challenges.

The Whitby principle of "partnership", of first asking for the younger church's
need rather than for the older church's desire, already constituted a radical blow
to some traditions of those who had been thinking in terms of "their" missionaries,
"their" converts, "their" institutions. Still the effect of the blow was healthy:
it brought out clearly, as never before, that from the very first origin of a

Christian community, this new group of believers, however small, poor, illiterate and -- to use our favourite expression -- "unripe", was a part of Jesus Christ's church on earth; it forced missions to disentangle their durable, spiritual, missionary motives from a possible Western feeling of cultural superiority.

It goes without saying that to the mind of all those assembled at Whitby there was an intimate connection between the recognition of the primary responsibility of the younger churches for missionary policy in their own lands and their desire for "thousands of missionaries". This desire was a matter of course to the Whitby gathering in the face of unknown evangelistic opportunities among a continually growing non-Christian population. Neither the older nor the younger churches intended to sap the missionary effort of the older churches by this clear recognition of the younger churches" equality with them. The "euthanasia" of missions remained one of the articles of their creed, but this "euthanasia" was to be conceived of as the end of the mission's separate organisation, apart from the younger church, rather than as the end of its activity. Some of the claims of post-Whitby radicalism however virtually amount to the end of "foreign missions" in their essential characteristics.

I first mention the various ways in which the missionaries and missions of the older churches have "lost directness", as Prof. Freytag called it at the Ghana conference, as a consequence of radical missionary theories which are in the air. This may take the form of the younger churches' desire to pool resources in men and money and wholly to leave the decision about the use they are to be made of to agencies other than those who send them. It may mean an increase in the demands for financial and material help from the older churches and a decrease in the demands for personal service by their missionaries. It may mean pleas for considering as missionaries Christians who have gone out in government service or in business and who are determined to witness to their Lord in and outside their professional life -- whatever may be the meaning of the word missionary in relation to a person whom the Church has not sent and for whom it has no responsibility!

It may mean the desire of a younger church that the missionary should not get into contact with non-Christians but should confine himself to make the members of the younger churches mission-minded. It may be visible in a notable tendency among some younger churches to ask for missionaries for institutional rather than for evangelistic work. Finally it may even mean idea of stopping to serve the cause of evangelism by sending men and money on the alleged ground that nationals are the most efficient evangelists especially those who have refused to accept foreign subsidy. All these instances are historic and are symptomatic of an underlying trend.

In the second place I mention interchurch aid (ICA) as being by its very existence a challenge to traditional missionary activity. We know that ICA is an activity of the World Council of Churches which extends far beyond its origin of emergency help, mainly in Europe. It is characterized by mobility and efficiency and ignores such missionary traditions as permanence in its relationships and knowledge, due to old spiritual and personal ties. It is no doubt an activity worthy of generous support by the world-wide church. Is it perhaps more than that, is it perhaps the new form which foreign missions ought to take in an age when their traditional shape is challenged by the loss of directness anyway? This would no doubt imply the loss of much that has been considered essential in the realm of

mutual knowledge of older and younger churches: study, training, visits, publications etc. It would make supporters of the work less conscious of what they are really doing and might well cause a serious decrease in income; on the other hand the home-base organisation might perhaps be much simpler, the work would be less bound to commitments, much more mobile. Might this not well be the new form missions ought to take in our days? Or have we good reason to fear that this would entail the loss of essential spiritual values?

In this third place I mention the challenge of such missions as are outside the ecumenical movement. They tend to put more emphasis upon the Western Christians' calling to send messengers of the Gospel than upon their task to help build the younger church. The growth of these missions is probably a sympton of a real missionary zeal of many Christians in the West, a zeal which is not satisfied by the way missions in the International Missionary Council have developed in accordance with such principles as have found expression at Whitby. The question they ask us, if I understand them rightly, is whether Whitby was really right in looking at all missionary issues from the point of view of the younger churches, of the streng-thening of their leadership and of their unity in the face of the non-Christian world. Does not the expected coming of the Lord demand that Christians should primarily see to the proclamation of the Gospel in the whole world rather than be concerned about the church and its place in that world?

The proper reply to this challenge is, that it does not take the church -- which in this case means the younger church -- really serious, that it is unaffec-ted by the rediscovery in our age of the church in "its calling to mission and to unity", that it is not an answer to the issue of "missions in an ecumenical era" but rather a way of dodging this issue. But even if we think this challenge is unfounded, we should never shut our ears to the most pertinent question which these missions, by their very existence, continue to put to us: are we not, precisely because of our respect for the (younger) church, because of our living in an "ecume-nical era", in danger of a thing which missions ought to fear more than anything else, that is, the danger of introversion?

Am I not exaggerating? Does the "lost directness", does the existence of missions outside the ecumenical movement, does the existence of inter-church aid really constitute so many challenges to missions as we have known them? Many missions still go on as in the 19th century and nobody doubts that they are doing useful things everywhere they work. Our financial stress is just as real as ever. What, then, is the trouble?

Questions like these tend to overlook the trend in the development of missions and the experience of missionaries and boards in those parts of the world where ecclesiastical autonomy is most real. The existence of missions as yet unchallenged by post-Whitby radicalism is not contradictory of other missions' real problems "in an ecumenical era". The fact that many missionaries still feel happy in their work should not make us forget that others are in danger of frustration. Many a mission's gratitude for having been able to overcome financial difficulties is tempered by disappointment about a lack of requests for missionary cooperation in front-line jobs. Some missionary leaders in the older churches notice a tendency in the younger churches and among some missionaries, more to emphasize the younger churches "right to manage their own affairs, to frame their own policies" than their request for "thousands of missionaries". No, there may be reasons why we do

not always see the problem clearly, the trend is there, challenging missions as we still know them.

I do not know how to respond to that challenge. Let it be quite clear that there is no reason for claiming a right of existence for missions as they have been and still are according to the Whitby conception of their task. Obedience to God may well mean for missions to follow the law of the grain of wheat: "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit. (John 12 : 24) Perhaps the task of world-wide evangelism is in need of other forms than those we know with their long history and perhaps burdensome experience. They are but human organisations which God may want to replace by others. On the other hand we should not dispense lightly with our missions, which, under God, have been instrumental in carrying His Gospel to the ends of the earth and in founding the church of Jesus Christ in far remote lands. If we cannot, in the West, give an answer to the problems of "missions in an ecumenical era", by ourselves, that may not prevent us Westerners from attempting to formulate them, for the problems are mainly ours. If we really accept the ecumenical character of our era, the solution will only be found in common consent with the younger churches, in a fresh ecumenical vision of the perennial task of the proclamation of the Gospel which God entrusted to His church.

THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF WESTERN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

IN AREAS OF RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE

By Prof. Dr. Peter Kuin

(Dr. Kuin is Professor of Economic and Industrial Sociology,
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For present purposes, let us assume that foreign enterprise not only has a right
to operate in underdeveloped countries, but also that in doing so it performs a use-
ful function. We shall come back to this basic principle later, but for the time
being any doubt about the fundamental situation we are discussing should be dispelled.

Foreign enterprise in underdeveloped countries shows a great variety of forms and
functions. Taking functions first, we can distinguish at least ten of them. Foreign
enterprises are engaged in:

1. The export of agricultural produce and the products of local crafts and indus-
   tries.
2. The import and distribution of merchandise, ranging from matches through cotton
   dresses to heavy tractors, and thousands of other articles.
3. Agricultural production, mainly on plantations.
4. Processing crops and forest produce, such as oil seeds, timber, cotton, sugar
   cane, rubber.
5. Building and contracting: ports, roads, canals, irrigation works, factories,
   houses.
6. Transportation and warehousing.
7. Operating public utilities: railways, power, gas and waterworks.
8. Mineral extraction and processing, mainly of oil but also of bauxite, copper,
   tin and other ores.
9. Manufacturing consumer goods, tools and other articles in common use.
10. Banking, insurance and other services

There is no need here to go deeply into the variety of forms of foreign business
firms. We may just mention agents, branch offices and domiciled houses -- indepen-
dent or held by holding companies abroad -- and distinguish between firms with:

1. Foreign ownership and foreign mangement.
2. Foreign ownership and mixed management.
3. Mixed ownership and management ("mixed" here means foreign and national.)

Business ethics are largely the same everywhere: fairness in production and pri-
cing, reliability in financial and legal matters, justice and humanity in personnel
management and restraint in the exercise of power. But in underdeveloped countries,
there may also be other moral issues peculiar to the local situation. They may also
assume different aspects for the individual firm and the foreign business community
as a whole.

Moral Issues Facing Individual Firms

For the individual foreign firm the possibility of being faced with a moral issue
in this sense arises from contacts with nationals in various capacities: suppliers,

customers, workers, managers, partners, competitors and the authorities. By reviewing the situations where these contacts occur, we shall trace the most likely sources of problems.

1. Traders. Although it is not impossible for a foreign firm to buy direct from local producers or to sell to the general public (in fact it is done to an appreciable extent, particularly in the merchandise trade), Western importers and exporters normally do their business through domestic traders, or middlemen. These may also be of foreign though not of Western origin. There should be no objection to this system, apart from the fact that these middlemen's margins are sometimes high by Western standards. The circumstances under which they work should be considered, of course. They buy and collect small lots of produce, sometimes advancing the money; they sell small items of merchandise and they operate under difficult transport conditions, particularly in sparsely populated areas. The foreign firms cannot hope to replace them, at least not at lower costs. They can help to raise the population's standard of living by promoting competition between the middlemen, by not having quasi-monopolistic ties with traders, by assisting producers' or consumers' cooperatives and by providing adequate service and information.

It is easy for a foreign merchant to get caught in the conflict of national group interests, sometimes aggravated by racial complications, e.g. if the middlemen belong to different races -- Syrians, Indians or Chinese. Christian ethics and the law of self-preservation happen to coincide here, that is, the best policy is to rely on quality of goods, modest profit margins and the best possible service to the ultimate customers or suppliers.

2. Managers. For years enlightened Western business firms have encouraged the promotion of suitable indigenous staff members to managerial positions, even if this meant adusting the organization to the available skill instead of the other way round. Recently government pressure has been added to this voluntary action. It should be recognized that some nations -- such as Indians and West Africans -- provide more managerial talent than others. Generally speaking, the Western business firms should be active in providing opportunities for national staff to rise to managerial rank. In this policy there is no room for the color bar. Full opportunities exist only in organizations where white men are prepared to work under any capable manager, whatever his color.

New management may yet have to acquire some of the old traditions, for instance loyalty. Young "national" staff who have been given full training, including visits to other countries and similar costly facilities, sometimes leave the firm to join a competitor. This shows that in staff matters the moral obligations are not all on one side.

3. Partners. Obviously the general rule applies that one should either trust one's partners or dissolve the partnership. In this particular context a complication may arise from the fact that in many underdeveloped countries it is considered essential not only to have a reliable partner but also one who moves in the proper circles. Social and political affiliations may count as much as personal qualities.

This may be a question of prudence only but there are cases in which a conscientious businessman has to take a moral decision. Generally speaking, it seems best to rely on personal qualities and business ability, to cooperate with constructive national elements and to steer clear of the variable atmosphere of national politics. He who takes this course, however, must expect to meet with occasional frustration.

4. <u>The authorities.</u> What has been said about partners applies to the authorities, too. Corruption should be no problem to a Christian, nor to any other honest businessman; he simply must not stoop to it. But there are more insidious ways of "making friends and influencing people," and here a keen sense of moral values is essential. A difficulty is that standards of conduct are not the same everywhere. Nepotism is considered natural in many an underdeveloped country and sinecures will sometimes be expected as a matter of course. The only possible answer is that the Westerner must live up to the best of his own traditions, even if it loses him some business; but we should not forget that this answer is easier for us to give at a Church Conference than it may be for others to put into practice.

Despite all this, it is a fascinating task to help young governments in carrying out programmes of economic expansion. Foreign business firms have splendid opportunities to make themselves really useful, and the more far-sighted their policy in such matters, the better it will be for their own position and for the prestige of the Westerner. An essential condition is the creation of mutual confidence.

5. <u>Workers.</u> The requirements of good personnel management are rather obvious. The enlightened employer will provide for the health, training, housing and general welfare of his workers and strengthen their feeling of security by introducing providence funds or even pension schemes for permanent staff. It may be necessary for the employer to explain the reasons for his welfare policy in simple, even pictorial terms, perhaps with the aid of trade union officials. Every employer should carefully examine the possibility of improving the ratio of permanent staff to casual labor, in order to foster loyalty to his organization and stability in the community.

Wages should be good by local standards; in fact, efficient Western enterprises can usually afford to set an example by tending to pay more. There can be no objection to premiums, provided they are not a substitute for efficient management and provided the basic wage is good.

The right of workers to organize in trade unions should be recognized, but the Western employer, however enlightened, must take a firm though reasonable stand against demagogic action and exaggerated demands. Young nations often have trade unions without any experience and knowing little of moderation. Communist cells may have to be stood up to with great determination. Morally speaking, this is only possible for an employer whose working conditions are good.

Industrial democracy has its limits in underdeveloped countries. Whether joint consultation on matters affecting the workers is a good thing in a particular area may depend on local conditions. However, consultation with labor representatives on matters of general policy can, if at all feasible, only be the fruit of cooperation under mature conditions.

6. <u>Competitors.</u> If a foreign employer pays and treats his staff rather better than is usual in a particular area, local employers will not thank him for it. Too wide a discrepancy will even create unpleasantness, particularly if labor is not abundant.
An even more important source of trouble is the impact of modern foreign enterprise on traditional national competitors. Generally speaking, the foreign firm has the advantage of scientific knowledge, up-to-date equipment, advanced production and marketing methods and efficient general management. There are also disadvantages: less social and political influence, more expensive managers and higher overhead costs, but usually the balance is in favor of the foreign firm. In manufacturing, particularly of consumer goods, one of the most striking differences is that modern

foreign enterprise takes a long term view and goes in for efficient large scale pro-
duction at low cost and low margins per unit, whereas national businesses are in-
clined to go in for immediate profits and, being less efficient, operate along the
lines of low turnover, high costs and high margins. The result is often a violent
impact of the foreign "invader" on the position of national industries. Similar
situations arise outside manufacturing, in transport, building, services, etc.

This should give the foreign businessman food for thought. He is out to estab-
lish and expand an organization which is beneficial, as a whole, to the community it
serves, but in the process his action may be destructive of traditional forms of
local industry. There are compensations, of course. Foreign enterprise will speed
up the modernization of national industries, and it provides consumer goods, tools,
etc. in greater abundance and at lower prices than national industries can attain.
It thus helps to raise the standard of living and that is its ultimate justification.

But man does not live by bread alone. No community can be expected to take the
decline of traditional crafts or industries lightly, and certainly not when this is
brought about by foreign enterprise. The main responsibility in this respect rests
with the government of the country in question. They will have to find the happy
mean between consumer and producer interests, between conservation and progress.

If it is a matter of age-old crafts or cottage industries, foreign enterprise
will be wise in showing restraint. This disruption of traditional local communities
not only creates serious cultural problems but it may also pave the way for communism.
If, on the other hand, the competitors are a small group of backward entrepreneurs,
the foreign manufacturer is entitled to be less inhibited and to think of his services
to the great mass of ultimate consumers.

Both foreign enterprise and national governments will have to try and ensure as
smooth a transition as possible. Foreign businessmen can make a contribution by not
being secretive about modern machinery and methods of production, marketing, account-
ing and general management, and by tactfully assisting the government in seeking
solutions for difficult economic and social problems. They may also join trade asso-
ciations and the like, but not if their purpose is to maintain the status quo. Res-
ponsible Western enterprise must act as an instrument of progress in backward coun-
tries: technically, economically and socially.

Foreign Enterprise as a Whole.

There should be no doubt about the moral right of Western enterprise to operate
in other countries or about its beneficial effect on these countries themselves. We
are all more or less embarrassed by the reminders of abuse in former centuries, but
the way modern enterprise functions in countries largely ruled by national govern-
ments is entirely different from colonial exploitation.

A few points to keep in mind are:
1. Underdeveloped areas may have good or bad soil, be densely or sparsely popula-
ted; but a feature common to all is a dearth of capital. Investment by foreigners,
therefore, is most desirable and whereas for some purposes public investment will be
necessary, others will call for private "venture" capital.

2. The advantages of "direct investment" by private investors in private enter-
prise are a) that such investment is accompanied by technical and commercial experi-
ence and by managerial ability; b) that it is used to enlarge the nation's economic
equipment and thus create a permanent source of higher national income; c) that it
often takes the form of equity capital which requires less foreign currency for divi-
dends, or none at all, when times are bad.

3. Foreign enterprise stimulates national enterprise because it needs auxiliary industries, services, trade,transport, etc. It also stimulates national savings and investment, which may gradually supplement or even supplant foreign investment.

For these and other reasons national circles, too, should recognize the essential role of foreign enterprise for the development of their countries. They should also realize that there is a limited supply of capital and able management in the Western world and that they have to compete with others, through adequate laws, good administration and practical cooperation in order to attract such capital and management.

In underdeveloped countries there is a twofold suspicion:a) that foreign business profits mainly result from the use of economic power; b) that they are obscured by vertical combination with companies established abroad. The answer to the first is that more often than not the only source of power is the availability of capital, higher management and knowledge of production techniques and markets -- things very beneficial to the local community and very elusive when threatened by nationalization. The answer to b) is that in most countries currency regulations make it necessary for foreign businesses to produce full evidence in regard to prices, profits, etc. before the national banks or currency boards. Nevertheless, Western businessmen should take these sentiments seriously and help to clear the air by being perfectly frank with the authorities about their financial position and returns, by promoting competitive conditions in the economy concerned and by taking the view that profits should be taxed in the country where they are earned. This, incidentally, is what the International Chamber of Commerce has done.

Generally speaking, it is the responsibility of the foreign business community to behave in independent countries as guests and not as masters. Both in independent and in other underdeveloped countries nationalism has come to stay. Westerners may have good reason to complain of excessive pride and susceptibilities, but they would do well to look back at the early history of their own nations. Moderation belongs to maturity, not to adolescence. It is the Westerner's moral right to draw attention, with wise restraint, to national follies and injustices, but it is his moral duty to respect his hosts, to obey their laws and cooperate in their administration, to help them in achieving prosperity and in gaining prestige.

If this basic attitude is adopted there will be very few problems that cannot be solved. The essentials are mutual confidence and understanding and Christian Churches and Church members on both sides must help to bring these about.

THE MEANING OF TECHNOLOGY IN A NON-TECHNOLOGY CULTURE

(An attempt to understand the theological context of our practical problems
in Asia and Africa)

By John Wren-Lewis

(with apologies to the author that due to space-limitation of this report,
his paper had to be somewhat abbreviated. Ed.)

I.

To consider the ethical problems confronting Western private enter-
prise in Asia and Africa, I try to frame the general context of the problem.

There seems to be something about the Western way of thinking which
proves elusive to the Asian and African mind, if I may be forgiven such a
generalization. In a sense, technology, and the science which underlies it,
seem to epitomize many of the difficulties of which I am speaking.

A problem which bulks large in all our thinking about our responsi-
bilities in Asia and Africa is that of the social uprooting which inevitably
accompanies the introduction of technological industry and scientific tech-
niques. And there arises the plea that the East should use Western science
and technology without losing its own traditional religious values, but this
again is easier said than done, for in fact there seems to be good evidence
that there is an ultimate incompatibility between the two. To add one more
example, the problem which overshadows all others in our thinking about Asia
today is that of the growth of population, and while this is a general prob-
lem rather than one specific to private industry, it unquestionably concerns
private industry. For example, private industry is responsible to a con-
siderable extent for the research on, and manufacture of, drugs that can be
used to treat or prevent tropical diseases. But the Western pharmaceutical
manufacturer must surely wonder whether he is justified in deploying effort
on drugs which will cure Asians or Africans of some tropical disease only
to make their children starve, when he could be working to relieve the
equal sufferings of European or American citizens who have learned the art
of population control – and who, incidentally, will pay more for drugs and
so make more profits to be ploughed back into future research. And there
are other branches of Western industry which face similar choices.

So I do not propose to deal much with statistics about national in-
comes or expenditure on education, nor with recommendations for idealistic
policies which industrialists might pursue. The considerations of psychology
and even theology, however general and abstract they may appear, are, I be-
lieve, the essentially human considerations, for they deal with the thoughts
and feeling that motivate people.

II.

I want to try to define what it is that constitutes the distinctive
psychological characteristic of Western scientific and technological civil-
ization – for I am convinced that scientific and technological society dif-
fers from non-scientific and non-technological society not merely in degree,
but in kind. Scientific and technological society can be held to be a pro-
duct of something distinctive in the ethos of Western civilization as such,
(I suppose this is what Kipling was getting at in his famous dictum that
"East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet"); but I

am certain this needs complementing by the recognition that there are
very large numbers of people in Western society today, and many powerful
Western institutions, quite as alien from the scientific and technolo-
gical ethos as anyone in the East. After all, our whole modern problem,
the problem that makes this Conference necessary, arises because our
Western civilization - Christendom if you like - underwent a profound
revolution in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
I am referring not to the industrial revolution of the history books,
but to the so-called scientific revolution which made it possible.
Professor Herbert Butterfield of Cambridge has said in his study of
The Origins of Modern Science that this must rank as one of the greatest
mutations that the human race has ever undergone, compared with which
the text-book revolutions, the Reformation and the Renaissance, were
mere minor displacements. It was, at bottom, a psychological revolution,
a change in men's whole way of thinking and attitude to the world. It
did not, of course, happen suddenly - indeed, as I shall try to suggest,
it is still going on even amongst the scientists themselves - and far
from the whole of Christendom has been affected by it, even today. That
is why there are plenty of highly educated people in the West today who
feel they have more in common with the ancient ways of thinking and look-
ing at the world which can be found in the Eastern religions than with
their Western compatriots, men who feel it is their duty to link up with
the ancient religious traditions of the East to raise the banner of the
philosophia perennis against the insane aberrations of scientific and
technological materialism. But these people, for all their numbers or
intellectual influence, are not typical of Western civilization today,
for although the scientific and technologic revolution has not overtaken
them, it has transformed the public philosophy of the Western world.
And it is this revolutionized aspect of Western civilization which is
today creating most of the problems that this Conference is considering:
certainly it creates those perplexities to which I have been referring,
that bedevil most of our efforts to think clearly about our moral duties.
I therefore want to try to define the nature of that revolution, a re-
volution in world-outlook that had a direct effect on men's social
attitudes as well as upon their metaphysics and their methods of working.

In the heyday of the science-religion controversies of the last
century, the adherents of militant scientific humanism used to describe
the scientific revolution as "the great liberation of men's minds from
the age-long shackles of superstition", and this word "liberation" does
seem to be appropriate. To describe, however, the pre-scientific world-
outlook as either superstitious or theological is to overemphasize its
rationality. It is, if you like, to read back into it too much of the
radically different public philosophy of the scientific and technological
outlook itself, in which we all stand in the West now, even those of us
who disapprove of it. What we need is a more adequate definition of the
nature of the world-outlook which preceded it in the West and which re-
mains dominant in those parts of the world today which have not become
totally Westernized - a world-outlook which, statistically speaking, is
more normal for the human race than the scientific outlook is. And sig-
nificantly enough, I believe, the key-concept for defining this world-
outlook has been provided by a theologian, Professor Bultmann - the con-
cept of a mythological world-outlook (mythische weltbild).

I believe the change in world-outlook which brought about the

scientific revolution is of profound theological significance. It seems to me no accident that this revolution (which we might describe by borrowing another of Professor Bultmann's terms and calling it a "demythologization" of men's outlook upon life) occurred on a major scale only in Christendom. In fact, the outlook on life which he has characterized by the term "mythological" is precisely the common outlook of most of the human race for most of its history.

The essential contrast is that, whereas the public philosophy of our own day (of which the scientific outlook is one aspect) assumes that reality is what we encounter in experience, the mythische weltbild is based on the assumption that reality is occult, hidden behind experience. The really modern man sees life as a business of responding to the people and things he encounters in spontaneous, creative action, but the man of the mythological outlook sees it as the enactment of a mysterious drama, in which the objective is to find the correct ritual formula for behaviour in order to be in harmony with the hidden forces behind the scenes. And so, where modern man regards ideas, words and images as means of communicating experience, valuable, indeed essential, yet totally expendable as soon as they cease to serve the purpose of communication, most men in other ages and civilizations have lived in terms of myths which were believed to be the only sort of expression that could be found for the ultimately real, and therefore sacred, numinous in themselves. The contrast cuts right across the distinction between intellectuals and simple people, and it really is ultimate. It is concerned, not with how seriously people take images and symbols, but with the kind of reality they suppose them to refer to. The mythological world-view arises because images are supposed to refer to otherwise unknowable occult realities. By contrast, the public philosophy of the modern West, which makes science possible, is based on the belief that images and metaphors and myths are means of communicating about realities known in experience. That was the essential principle of the mental revolution that inaugurated modern Western civilization, not only in science but in art and religion, too. The inner meaning of the artistic Renaissance, I believe, was the decline of the belief that the artist's job was to body forth in visible form the occult spiritual realities behind the scenes, and the growth of the (usually unformulated) belief that he should show the way to new modes of experience; while the true significance of the protest of the Reformation was the insistence that religious realities were to be experienced here and now, not reserved for the hereafter and mediated through the ritual formulae of priestly magic.

I believe that the humanists who described it as a great liberation from illusion were essentially right in their evaluation even if, for reasons which I shall try to give, they were wrong in the conclusions they drew about it. I believe the mythische weltbild does represent a state of illusion. The psycho-analyst describes the individual whose life is goverened by compulsive obsession with occult realities as paranoid. Paranoia is defined as a state where escape is sought from full contact with life by projecting the evaluations derived from experience into a "beyond". I believe the mythische weltbild is in fact paranoia on the scale of whole societies and civilizations. Where I believe the ordinary psychoanalytic case needs modifying is in its assumption that the reality of life from which escape is sought in paranoia is a biological reality and no more. I do not myself see why, if this were the case, the projections should take the form of religious,

numinous myths at all. I believe we can only explain what actually happens, both in individual paranoia and in the mythische weltbild of groups, by recognizing that ordinary experience, and in particular the experience of personal relationships from which most "projections" derive, contains a transcendent element, of a kind which mythological images are required to describe. And so I see paranoia as not only a turning-aside from full human life, which Freud defined more or less as the love-life with one's neighbours, but also, at the same time, a turning-aside from the transcendent God who is encountered in one's love-relations with one's neighbours and who, in that encounter, in fact creates both neighbour and self as existential beings, as persons. ("Love", says Nicholas Berdyaev, "transforms the ego into a personality" - and so when St. John says "God is love" I take him to mean literally what he said.) The mythische weltbild therefore seems to me to be nothing less than one aspect of that universal human denial of God which the great religious myths themselves talk of as the Fall, that continuous attempt of human society to organize itself apart from its Creator which in fact denies its reality as human society.

III.

It appears that the great prophets in every religious tradition, and certainly in the Biblical traditions, actually challenged the current mythische weltbild precisely by insisting that the myths should be used as descriptions of the experience of God's reality, not as substitutes for it. This is surely the real essence of the commandment against graven images. Recognition of this fact makes it possible, and necessary, to see the history of religion everywhere, including the Christian religion, in a new light. Religion is not a single logical entity with variations of form: it is always radically ambiguous, an experience of liberating action by God in human life followed by a perversion of all the images used to describe that experience, and all the institutions created to conserve or mediate it, into the very same paranoid life-denying forms from which the original liberation took place. The greatest enemy of true religion, according to all the prophets is not unbelief but idolatry, and the essence of idolatry, which can take place under all the forms of genuine religion itself, is the conformation of religious truth to this fallen world. So there could be no greater mistake than supposing, as we so often do, that because we have given our allegiance to Christianity, we are therefore obliged, at least up to a point, to identify ourselves with, or defend, everything that has been done by historic Christianity. In reality, the Christian's duty may well be to attack some aspect of Christendom more vigorously than anything else, precisely because it is the perversion of the saving truth into something that actually suppresses that truth.

Given this view, it will be obvious why I hold that the psychological revolution which has produced science and the modern world is of great theological significance. It was, as I have suggested, a great demythologizing - but I must hasten to add that the demythologizing of our Western public philosophy was not, as is often suggested, the result of science - it was the cause of it. Professor Butterfield has said that the origin of modern science seems to have been marked by a change in men's feeling for matter, and I think we can say what that change was, namely, a "withdrawal of projections", to use Jung's phrase - men began to stop thinking of the experienced world as merely a veil, and became

more and more prepared to face experience in itself, and to judge their
images by experience. This must be rated as nothing less than a mani-
festation, on the plane of our whole Western civilization, of a libera-
tion from the bondage to fear and illusion characteristic of the fallen
world, such as had occurred before only in the lives of exceptional in-
dividuals or small groups at the heart of the great religious traditions.
I find it significant that it took place in Christendom and nowhere else.
In it I find impressive evidence for the Christian claim that Christ
wrought a work of liberation on an entirely unprecendented scale - a work
which, even when apparently submerged by persecution or superstitious per-
version or both, would still go on, hidden, like the growth of the mustard
seed, until it burst out in ways which many who were loudest in saying
"Lord, Lord" to Christ's memory would simply not recognize.

The anti-religious bias of much contemporary scientific thinking
needs to be revalued in the light of this diagnosis. Much of it must,
I suggest, be recognized as due to the enormous prevalence of the paranoid
perversion in modern religious organizations. It is a great triumph of
psycho-analysis that it has exposed the origin and true character of para-
noia, and when Freud concluded that religion was "the universal obses-
sional neurosis of humanity" it was because he believed religion to be
essentially a matter of projection; the practical discoveries of psycho-
analysis concerning the creativity of love and the need to base personal
life on the principle of forgiveness in fact seem to me to demand a re-
ligious, even a Christian, view of the world. But there is a second
point to be made here, namely that, because science only succeeded in
establishing its freedom by a bitter struggle against the entrenched
forces of official Christianity, there is often attached to the scientific
outlook today a strong emotional bias against everything that goes under
the name of Christianity, a bias which can lead to the devaluation of even
a genuine religion based on experience as well as the paranoid perversion
of religion.

I am not saying that the scientific revolution was the beginning of
the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Scientific thinking is
no more exempt from the ambiguities of our fallen world than any other
kind of thinking, while on the practical plane the result of the scientific
revolution might well be Armageddon. What I am saying is that our modern
Western scientific and technological civilization is not just another form
of society: it is an eschatological society, founded upon the principle
of "demythologizing" however uncomfortable this may prove to particular
individuals or groups involved in it - a society "infected" in its whole
logic and structure by the leaven of redemption, in a way which no mytho-
logical medicine can cure any more. Those who seek to retain a "mythische
weltbild" in it are swimming against the tide, and will eventually destroy
themselves if they persist - and if they try, as Hitler did, to re-estab-
lish the mythische weltbild on a large scale, they will be driven to use
more and more tyranny, which may in the end destroy the world, but they
will not succeed.

IV.

The first and most obvious conclusion is that we cannot really
expect it to be easy to impart scientific and technological education
in these continents. It is not merely a new skill we are trying to
introduce, but a psychological revolution - a revolution which took two

or three hundred years to make itself felt in Europe <u>even when it had got
started</u>, and which, if I am correct in my diagnosis, only started here
because European civilization had for over a millenium been influenced by
the unique redemptive work of Christ. Straight mental ability has nothing
to do with the case: Plato and St. Thomas Aquinas were mental giants,
greater probably than any modern scientists, yet their thinking was almost
wholly submerged in the <u>mythische weltbild</u>, and modern science and tech-
nology would have been utterly alien to them. Although there are notable
individual exceptions, neither experimental science nor technology have
yet really taken root in India even amongst those who have received
Western education for a generation or more - and I would venture to
prophesy similar results in Africa. This is perhaps a depressing con-
clusion, but it is none the less valuable for that. Before any positive
conclusions can be drawn, I think we need much more psychological research
into the nature of scientific and technological education. It would be
tempting to try to conclude <u>tout court</u> that we ought to re-integrate
technical education firmly with Christian missionary activity, but that
is hardly very practicable and I am not sure it really follows neces-
sarily from what I have said. For one thing, missionary activity is all
too often, even today, only the replacement of one <u>mythische weltbild</u> by
another - and although it remains true that a "Christian" myth has the
mustard-seed of redemption hidden in it, as it were (the seed, in other
words, of its own destruction <u>as</u> a compulsive myth), there is no reason
to believe that this seed will germinate any more quickly in Eastern
soil than it did in pre-scientific Europe - . The most that can be con-
cluded with certainty is that effective scientific and technological
education is virtually impossible without <u>some sort</u> of demythologizing
activity, which in turn involves the removal of some deep personal in-
securities.

The most significant conclusions from my diagnosis, however, concern
all the questions of social change that are involved in the impact of
Western civilization on the East. For we do not, I think, fully appre-
ciate that there is a radical difference between the way human beings
think of themselves in relation to society in our Western public philo-
sophy, and the way the <u>mythische weltbild</u> leads them to think of them-
selves. We take it for granted that we are individuals whose primary
relationships with one another are personal, and we see our membership
of wider society as a matter of co-operative commitment from which we
have every right in principle to contract out, even though in practice
it may be impossible or immoral on particular occasions. Such a way of
thinking is utterly foreign to the <u>mythische weltbild</u>.

One of the basic myths which all the great systems have in common
is that of society as a body. In fact it is only by recognizing that
most men throughout history have not only thought of themselves, but ac-
tually <u>felt</u> themselves, to be essentially cells in the invisible body of
their society that we can make any sense of the social institution of
monarchy at all. The modern English notion of it as a rational insti-
tution of good government is utterly out of keeping with the way most
people in most ages have treated their rulers: nothing of this sort
could ever explain, for example, the fact that people have been pre-
pared to execute their friends at the monarch's will. The truth is that
the normal pattern for all societies apart from our own has been one in
which people felt literally dependent upon their rulers, almost identi-
fied with them. In the same way, wherever the <u>mythische weltbild</u> is

accepted, there is a feeling of organic attachment to the honour and possessions of the group as a whole. On the other hand, any genuine sense of individuality, whether brought about by "delinquency" or "treachery" or by becoming involved with another person at a truly personal level, in love, produces an intense sense of guilt, for which the individual feels he needs to make atonement to the group. This, too, is natural enough given that the individual feels himself to be first and foremost a cell in the social body, for to act as an individual in such circumstances is to behave like a cancer cell. It is only in very rare small religious groups, prior to the scientific revolution, that it has ever entered men's minds that their nature is to be persons first, and social beings second - that their primary mode of relationship with each other is love, not co-operation. If we now take this more or less for granted in the West, it is because we are heirs to the Man who made that most revolutionary assertion that the sabbath (the symbol of the social myth) was made for man, not man for the sabbath.

To recognize this is to see at once why the "right-wing" attitude to problems of authority in Asia and Africa does so often get results where the "left-wing" attitude is interpreted only as weakness - and it explains, too, why something more than "education" seems to be needed to change this state of affairs. It also explains why the first reaction of the Asian and African territories to technical advance or freedom from Western dominance is so often a fanatical, irrational nationalism. We need to recognize that we are dealing with psychological attitudes appropriate to the mythische weltbild and its organic view of man. The same applies in the problem of population control. In fact almost all the problems which missionaries, diplomats and industrialists alike face in Asia and Africa today seem to me to have this problem of the mythische weltbild at their core. Exactly what that means for the way we tackle them I do not know. Perhaps this conference will enable me to find out. The only things I feel sure of are :-

(1) That we should have confidence in our own "demythologized" outlook and not succumb to the demands for a "remythologizing" or a return to a philosophia perennis. The restless, changing character of modern Western civilization may have its dangers and its difficulties, but they are the dangers and difficulties of creative life itself, and we cannot return to inhibition even if we would.

(2) That on the other hand, we have no call to take up an arrogant attitude to other religions, even if we do believe that Christianity is unique. The work of Christianity, if I am right, is precisely to liberate the truth of all religions, and it may well be in the name of that truth, rather than of Christ alone, that we have to work.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF EUROPE TO PROVIDE DEVELOPMENTAL

ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA

By B.M. Niculescu

As a first approach the problem before us may be stated in the form of two questions: What does Africa need? And what can Europe give?

To the first question it is possible to give a blanket answer: capital and skills. But to understand what such an answer implies, let us look at it a little more closely.

Let us assume the goal aimed at is an increase in the income per head per year in Africa of £100. This would still leave average income per head in Africa, now about £25 - £35, at about half that in Western Europe, or less, though it would increase present per head income some fourfold. Assuming a four year capitalization or, put in different words, a 25% yield on capital, this would involve for a population of 200 million a capital investment of some £80,000 million. This is the equivalent of the whole net capital investment in Western Europe for a period of some 7-10 years, or of the whole of its national incomes for one year. If we were to put before the Governments of Europe a proposal for investment at such rates, how well would such a proposal be received?

A number of queries may immediately be raised: why an increase of £100 per head? And what about local investments and re-investments? Is the goal not too ambitious, and the picture too black? On the other hand, what guarantee will one have that capital invested on such a massive scale could be efficiently invested, that it will bring a yield anywhere near as high as 25%? And how long will it take before the people of Africa could make efficient use of such capital? There would be need for an army of instructors if a really rapid rate of capital investment is to be en-visaged. Are the possibilities of rapid development not very much over-rated? Is the picture not much too rosy?

Of course, such a blanket answer is no answer at all. Its only use-fulness is that it enables us to get some idea of the order of magnitudes involved. Any action adjusted to possibilities would have to be, not a blanket action, but a carefully selective action.

The diversity and specificity of Africa's problems

Africa is the second largest continent. Looked at from Europe it may appear homogeneous - tropical, poor and backward. In fact differences between various population groups can be profound. There are great dif-ferences in geography and climate, in local resources and in the past history of human groups and thus in their present store of capital, skills and knowledge. This results in a great variety of problems and necessarily in a great variety of answers to those problems.

To the differences between geographical groups must be added those within the population groups. Some sectors in a group, like banking and large scale business, may be closely similar to those in Europe, others,

like agriculture, may be widely different. Even if Europe were ready to
give the skills Africa needs, it may well not be in a position to do so,
simply because it does not have them. Many of the physical development
problems facing Africa - and their answers - are unknown to Europe, and
others may be known only in restricted parts of Europe or may have been
known only to the past generations. The wasteful emphasis in recent years
by Western European experts on the introduction of machinery in agriculture,
when draught animals are the obvious stage to be next aimed at, is only
one example, even though many times repeated, of this out-of-phase situation.
The assumption that European answers could be given to African problems
can be very wrong, not only in the human, but also in the physical sphere.

How can Europe help?

Europe may thus well be able to help Africa more by encouraging the
introduction of technicians and instructors from non-European countries,
like India or Japan. From the immediate European surroundings, it is
interesting to see how successful people from the Levant and more recent-
ly from Greece and Italy have been in Africa. Is that not a possibility
to be further explored? If such people are able to adapt themselves more
easily to African problems and circumstances than people further west and
north, may they not also be able to contribute more, and more effectively -
and less expensively - to the solution of African problems and the develop-
ment of the continent?

I do not underestimate the sense of mission and the sense of ad-
venture of individual members of every country in the world, but we must
face the fact that the number of such individuals tends to be small. If
we want many, it would be best if we looked to the countries from which
they can come and be useful without the need for any special sense of
mission or adventure.

Methods of deploying resources

Let us assume Europe's readiness to help Africa, and let us assume
the availability of the necessary resources in finance and skills (the
latter whether of European or non-European origin). What would be the
best methods of deploying such resources? International action? National
action? Official action? Unofficial? Centralization in one single or-
ganization or dispersal in many independent ones? The problem is not
purely academic. There are already a fairly large number of bodies ad-
ministering non-African funds devoted to African development. The general
human feeling for tidiness tends to get rather impatient at this proli-
feration. Even such centralized exercises as the French development plans
and organizations, through which France has been pouring into Africa the
largest sums of any European country, can give rise to a feeling that
further integration on some international scale may be even tidier and
therefore more efficient.

Personally I feel that the desire for tidiness can easily lead to
a wrong emphasis. Africa is today like a sponge: what it needs is more
of everything and it is ready to absorb much more than it has been given
so far. Whether it receives its moisture from one single source or many,
is very much of secondary importance. It is far from having reached a
stage where efficiency is impaired by too many helpers falling over each
other's feet.

This does not mean, of course, that working in complete ignorance of each other is to be recommended. Contacts, exchange of information, broadcasting of mistakes - and success - will all help towards increasing everybody's efficiency and the general store of knowledge on <u>what</u> the problems are and <u>how</u> they can be tackled. But I believe we are still at a stage where <u>more</u> helping bodies, of any and every kind, and especially bodies collecting, centralizing and disseminating specialized information, are greatly needed.

Of course, at certain stages of development certain bodies may become less acceptable either to the giver or to the receiver, and others more. There may thus be a movement away from national organizations, especially in the case of metropolitan-colonial relations, and towards international ones. But this is not necessarily so. Direct nation to nation assistance may still be greatly favoured, even in the case of a touchy young country just out of the colonial status, and not only with "non-colonial" powers. There can be a feeling of companionship, of comradeship, between nations as much as between individuals, and an impersonal international body may not be able to compete on this score. The recent experience in West Africa has certainly been rather interesting from this point of view.

Change and stress

The strains produced by social changes are not to be found only in Africa or Asia. Indeed I believe that too much emphasis has been put in this conference on the importance of such strains in the undeveloped countries as compared to the richer ones. It is in the richer countries, like Britain, that mental diseases have grown in numbers until they have overtaken every other disease, including cancer. The social strains felt by an individual are as much due to his non-adaptation to his own society, which as a whole may be fairly static, as to rapid changes in the general pattern of behaviour. When the whole society changes with a purposeful direction it is amazing how the individual can adapt himself to such change and thrive on it. By far the greatest social changes of our generation took place during the war, when family life was disrupted and all the habits of a lifetime turned upside down, and it is interesting that one of the by-products of that upheaval was a great diminution in mental diseases. Social change may lead to exhilaration as much as to mental strain.

The real problem in many parts of the world is less the stress of change as the fact that such change, social and economic, is slow and sometimes cannot even be taken for granted. Their very economic backwardness makes the undeveloped countries particularly able to stand on their own feet so that it is less necessary for them to press on with schemes of development or of economic integration into larger units such as are now increasingly needed in Europe. A community at the subsistence level - by definition - can live with very little contact with other communities.

It is only when desires for economic development and expansion have taken strong root in such a community - and this is often connected with increased education - that it begins to need closer contacts with other communities, its own movement forward making its integration into wider economies necessary, thus lessening its ability to stand on its own feet. It is Egypt's poverty and backwardness which

has enabled Nasser at the time of the Suez crisis to keep a hold on the country without being much bothered by the Western economic boycott.

The emergence of one world

Man's realization of the benefits of more intimate contacts, economic and others, with other communities throughout the world is nevertheless as a whole rapidly increasing. The close relationship of all human beings has always been Christianity's main teaching, and modern technological and scientific developments make this Christian view increasingly valid in the practical sense and possible. Speeding up its fulfillment is today one of the greatest challenges to Christianity.

A hundred years ago economics was known as the dismal science. It held no hope for the underprivileged groups. We have gone a long way since then. Today's economics I might call a Robin Hood economics: you take away from the rich and give to the poor. This is known in economic terms as the redistribution of income by taxation. This process has so far been almost entirely restricted within national groups. My contention is that today the whole world is becoming one single community and that the redistribution of income by taxation must now begin to apply to it as a whole. The proposal made by the Labour Party in Britain that 1% of the national income should be devoted to the development of backward areas is extremely important from this point of view, less for the sums involved than for the principle of devoting a definite percentage of the income of a rich community to the needs of poorer communities. It is indeed the first introduction of proportional taxation in an international context.

Priorities in Africa

To what should such sums (which I hope will increase rapidly) be devoted as far as Africa is concerned? In one of the development plans for Uganda it was stated that the country suffered from a vicious circle of disease, ignorance and poverty, each engendering the others. I submit that international help should be primarily directed towards overcoming disease and ignorance, leaving it to the local communities with the help of private enterprise to fight their own way then out of poverty. Control of disease will no doubt lead to a population explosion also in Africa, but I think that for Africa today that may not be a bad thing. It must not be forgotten that if sickness may keep down the population, it also keeps down human efficiency. A sick man is physically half a man and is mentally also only half a man. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$, by simple arithmetic, $= \frac{1}{4}$. You cannot raise the wellbeing of a community and allow its individual members to develop their personalities fully if their individual yield is only that of a quarter of a man.

How much money would Africa need to control disease, provide literacy and technical and higher education? A thousand million pounds a year would, I think, be sufficient to provide a sound foundation for many years to come. This may seem a lot of money but let us remember it is less than the United Kingdom budget for defence, - and there is nothing new in such a comparison. Responsible statesman have already put forward proposals for a world-wide drastic cutting down of armaments, and for the use of the funds thus saved for the development of poor countries. What better challenge could be made by Christians to the nations and the

statesmen of the world, West and East, than to ask them all to agree to divert funds now used for war preparations to the development of the poorer areas of mankind?

Why help Africa?

I have so far avoided the implicit, but crucial question, which I think this conference ought to ask itself, even though the answer may appear to many obvious: why should Europe help Africa?

Charity is a Christian virtue, though if it is interpreted as alms-giving I have come over the years to doubt it more and more: it seems to bless the giver so much more than the receiver. But alms today cannot help Africa and it is doubtful whether they would even be acceptable.

I think the main thread which goes through all Europe's thinking today, and the background to its everyday life, is fear. It is a real fear, and it is a fear of a real danger: that man's soul - each individual man's soul - may be enslaved. It is the greatest danger a Christian has to face. And I am not thinking of Communism alone. And it is a danger which misery and resentment strengthens and spreads. Europe cannot isolate itself any more. It could, in the past, surround itself with a wall and pretend that nothing outside mattered. It was a most un-Christian attitude, but a possible attitude. Now the wall has crumbled. I believe Europe may one day come to bless Nasser, because he has helped so much to show how radically that wall has crumbled, and maybe to help Europe and Christianity to find itself and save itself and the rest of the world with it. Today's only solutions to today's problems are on a world scale. Europe's problem today, in our immediate context, is not: what does Africa need? - or Asia, or Latin America. Europe's problem is: what does mankind - Europe included - need?

The two questions asked at the beginning of this paper are, I think, the wrong questions. The real question to be asked is not how Europe can help Africa, but: What can Africa and Europe jointly contribute to solving mankind's problems? Because Christianity's frontiers today are not in Africa or Asia; they pass through London, Paris, New York, as much as through the Congo.

NOTES ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE

By Richard M. Fagley

1. It may be useful as background information to have a brief summary of the present state of international assistance to the less developed countries. The present notes are based chiefly on two United Nations Secretariat papers of June 1958, International Economic Assistance the Under-developed Countries 1956/57, (E/3131) and The International w of Private Capital, 1957, (E/3128), and the Annual Report of the chnical Assistance Board for 1957, E/3080, (June 1958). Reference is iso made to the study by the U.N. Population Branch, The Future Growth of World Population (St/SOA/Series A/28 - 1958).

2. The term, international developmental assistance, is used to designate a broad category of aid for economic and social development which includes both the sharing of technical and scientific skills and the provision of financial aid for the rebuilding of productive capital and its social infra-structure. Developmental assistance includes both grants and long-term loans. In the U.N. tables, inter-governmental contributions for relief in less developed countries is also included. Not included is direct military aid; but it should be recognized that when such aid is given in response to a genuine defence need, it contributes indirectly to developmental objectives by releasing local funds for productive purposes.

3. Also not included in these tabulations is reference to the impact of international trade upon the capabilities of the less developed economies. Yet it is clear that the exchange of goods, usually of primary commodities for manufactures and machinery, provides the chief resource of the less developed countries for acquiring the capital goods needed to modernize their economies. Without going into this important aspect of the question, two points might be noted in passing. One is that the wide fluctuations in the prices of several primary commodities, on the sale of which under-developed countries are frequently dependent, makes any national economic planning difficult. The other is that the excess of exports over imports on the part of the major creditor nation, the U.S.A., makes difficult the repayment of loans and the expansion of trade. According to tables in the U.N. Statistical Yearbook, the U.S. in the three year period 1954-6, extended some $3,000 million in developmental assistance. But in the same period, U.S. exports exceeded imports by $15,000 million.

4. Another preliminary note that should be made is that in U.N. parlance the "underdeveloped world" is defined as all of the Americas except the U.S.A. and Canada, all of Asia except the U.S.S.R. and Japan, and all of Africa except the Union of South Africa. The exclusion of some of the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe from this category is a debatable point.

International economic aid.

5. It is indicated in E/3131 that international economic assistance was extended to the less developed countries at a somewhat higher rate in 1956/57 than in the preceding three years, 1953/54 –

1955/56. The grand total of inter-governmental grants and loans, less repayments for past loans, came to $2,459 million as compared with $5,875 million over the three year period preceding. It should be added that these figures do not include Soviet assistance to Egypt and certain Asiatic countries, since the U.S.S.R. failed to supply information. According to a _Times_ correspondent, while Soviet pledges of aid for the 1954-8 period come to some $2,000 million, mostly in low-interest loans the actual assistance extended thus far, less repayments "may come to $500 million" inclusive of military aid. This would mean roughly an increase of 5 per cent in the totals above.

6. It should also be noted that private international assistance is not included in the above totals. Private long-term capital investment, treated below, amounted to a net inflow into the underdeveloped world of at least $1,235 million in 1956 the latest year with substantia statistics. Private grants, chiefly from churches and foundations might be "guestimated" at perhaps $100 million a year. The figures here have not been compiled, but a few clues secured from the Missionary Research Library, a Roman Catholic source, and offices of two of the larger foundations. The sum based in part on the assumption that 30 per cent of missionary contributions may go to the provision of technical services in less developed lands - the maintenance of the schools, hospitals, and the like.

7. Taking together the various elements of international assistance gives a current total of roughly $4,000 million granted or lent to help peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America accelerate their economic and social development.

8. By far the larger part of the governmental assistance is bilateral in character. Over the past four years, 94 per cent of the loans (less repayments) have come through bilateral channels. Multilateral aid (Colombo plan contributions are included in the bilateral figures of Commonwealth countries) accounts for less than 10 per cent of the four year total.

The figures for 1956/57 are:-

Grants	U.N.T.A.	$30,6 million
"	U.N.I.C.E.F.	$17,4 million
"	U.N.K.R.A.	$20.8 million
"	U.N.W.R.A.	$35.2 million
Loans	I.B.R.D.	$178.8 million (repayments $18.8 million)

9. According to E/3131, bilateral aid, by contributing country, included the following, in millions of dollars:

	Grants	Loans	Repayments
Australia	33.5	0.8	-
Belgium	-	8.0	-
Canada	23.4	-	-
France	514.3	292.8	23.7
India	3.4	-	-
Italy	6.8	-	-
Japan	0.3	-	-
Netherlands	20.9	3.5	7.4
New Zealand	5.7	0.1	-
Norway	0.9	-	-
Portugal	0.4	2.2	..
Spain	..	..	..
Sweden	0.3	-	..
United Kingdom	113.5	42.4	5.6
United States	1,166.5	269.9	277.3
Total	1,889.0	619.7	314.0

10. It is not fully clear just how comparable the figures are. For example, the data submitted by France include both "development expenditures" and "current expenditures", equal to about two fifths of the total. The extent to which costs of colonial administration are included under the latter category is uncertain, though the assistance budget of France is in any case relatively large.

11. In addition to these bilateral efforts, the more developed countries account for about 91 per cent of the budgets of the multilateral programmes, the balance being contributed by the underdeveloped countries themselves. The large amounts contributed by the latter in the form of payment of local costs are not included in these tables. Inclusion of such figures would help to show the extent to which self-help enters into the inter-governmental projects.

12. The distribution of international governmental economic aid in 1957 (or fiscal 1956/57), according to E/3131, shows the following broad pattern:

	Grants	Loans	(Million U.S. Dollars) Repayments
Africa	449	274	40
Latin America	143	249	138
Asia	1,146	198	148
Oceania	32	1	-

13. To see the picture more clearly, however, one must take into account the fact that within these continents assistance is unevenly distributed, being affected by various political and military factors. Thus, one third of the grants and half the loans made in Africa during

1957 went to Algeria. The three major recipients of grant aid in Asia during the year were South Korea ($336 million), Viet-Nam ($246 million), and Taiwan ($95 million). These three countries accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the grant aid extended to Asia. The figures for some of the more critically situated countries, from a demographic point of view, give perhaps a better indication of the actual situation with regard to developmental assistance:

	(Million U.S. Dollars)		
	Grants	Loans	Repayments
Egypt	8	6	1
Ceylon	10	4	-
India	75	50	97
Indonesia	14	4	15

International Flow of Private Capital

14. Another part of the developmental assistance picture is seen in a general way in the Secretary General's report on the flow of private long-term capital, E/3128. The differences in accounting and the gaps in reporting limit the comparability of the figures and the utility of the totals based upon them. The figures for 1957 are too incomplete to be very helpful, but they lead the Secretariat to the conclusion:

During 1957 the flow of international private long-term capital appears to have reached a new high as compared with 1956 which was already a record year in the post-war period.

15. The figures for 1956 on the flow of private long-term capital from the principal capital exporting countries shows the following:

	(Million U.S. Dollars)		
	Outflow	Inflow	Net Outflow
United States	3,420	658	2,762
United Kingdom	(728)	(224)	504
Switzerland	329	4	325
Belgium Luxembourg	...	..	184
Netherlands	59	38	21
Sweden	...	..	9
Fed. Rep. of Germany	91	94	-3
France	51	93	-43
Japan	27	75	-48
Canada	125	1,370	-1,245

16. It should be noted that the larger part (more than two thirds) of this long-term capital is being invested in the more developed countries, the two largest importers of capital in 1956 being Canada and the U.S.A., with the U.K. and Australia standing in 5th and 6th place. The net inflow into capital importing countries with more developed economics came to some $1,700 million dollars, to which should be added the inflow into other capital exporting countries, approaching $1,200 million. The net inflow into the less developed countries amounted to some $1,235 million.

17. The distribution of the capital going into the less developed countries, is roughly indicated by adding the incomplete and not fully comparable figures given for 1956 in E/3128. Such additions show the following:-

	(Million U.S. Dollars)
Africa	53
U.K. Colonies (not geographically divided)	224
Latin America	892
Asia	65

18. The uneven distribution of private capital investment in the underdeveloped world is even more marked than in the case of governmental assistance. Of the total of $892 million for Latin America, some $405 million was invested in Venezuela, mostly by foreign-owned oil companies. Most of the net inflow into Asia went into the Philippines ($56 million). Rhodesia and Nyasaland received $52 million in the African sector. Looking again at some of the countries where the population explosion is exerting the greatest pressure, we see the following in millions of dollars:

Egypt	0
Ceylon	-10
India	-6
Indonesia	0

Evaluation of International Assistance.

19. While the U.N. and related agencies are still a long way from the kind of broad and longer range review of international assistance in relation to developmental needs, the Technical Assistance Board is giving increasing attention to shorter-range evaluation of the U.N. expanded Programme which it administers. The new T.A.B. report (E/3080) contains an appraisal of the 1957 projects in 38 countries, which accounted for 80 per cent of the total effort. The latter involved a budget of $31½ million, with 2,513 experts in the field, 2,061 trainees studying abroad, and a total of 1,125 technical assistance projects in 132 countries and territories. These figures indicate the wide distribution of U.N. projects, which is politically useful if less sound from the point of view of a rational development strategy. The new Special Project Fund, incidentally, may help to remedy this weakness of U.N.T.A., by concentrating "assistance in depth" in a limited number of significant projects.

20. Reports from Resident Representatives, on the basis of consultations with local authorities, indicated that 74 per cent of the 847 projects surveyed were rated as excellent or satisfactory, 16 per cent as "too early to say", 7 per cent as "below expectations", and 3 per cent terminated before completion. Among the factors which handicapped projects in 1957, the following were listed as the most common:

1. Lack of adequate national administrative and technical services, which hampered close and prompt follow-up of the project activities.

2. Inadequate local staff, funds or equipment provided, or capital investment required not forthcoming.

3. Counterparts to international experts not available or provided too late.

4. Inadequate advance planning of projects before they are carried out.

5. Experts failed to adjust themselves to local conditions, had personality difficulties or made recommendations which were not realistically related to local conditions.

21. The evaluation found that 928 of 995 fellows who had returned or were due to return home in 1956/57 were reported to be using their specialized training in beneficial ways. The fact that 24 per cent of the experts, however, are still working without national counterparts was regarded as one of the most serious obstacles to effective assistance.

22. In regard to collaboration with other programmes, the survey reported that one project in four involved direct coordination of effort. The local government, it was stated, are paying increasing attention to their own role in regard to coordination. While some formal divisions of responsibility have been arrived at, it is stated that the more common procedure is to arrive at working arrangements through informal consultations.

The Future Growth of World Population.

23. Lest the foregoing help to foster illusions about the state of the present struggle for economic development, it may be well to add a reference to the estimates by the U.N. Populations Branch in the recently published document under the above title (St./SOA/series A/28). In the preface to this document it is stated:

It is now commonplace that, if a plan for social and economic development is to have any chance of realistic implementation, it requires a parallel assessment of the dynamics of population growth.

So far is this from being "commonplace" at the inter-governmental level, that it was only at the last U.N. General Assembly that a decision was taken to start talking about the relation of demography and development in Committee. The point of the Secretariat remark, however, is important.

24. Since the U.N. estimates have been criticized as "pseudo-scientific" by one or two R.C. churchmen, it may be noted that the present estimates, based on improved information and more detailed methods of analysis, represent an upward revision of the estimates made in 1954, which in turn was an upward revision of the 1951 figures. The cumulative evidence, the chief factor being the 1953 census in China, convince the demographers that they have been rather consistently too conservative in their estimates. Comparable figures from the three papers are as follows.

Estimated World Population for 1980

(millions)

	Low Estimate	High Estimate	Difference
1951 Calculations	2,976	3,636	660
1954 "	3,295	3,990	695
1958 "	3,850	4,280	430

25. What becomes clear, when the country estimates are grouped in the "more" and "less" developed categories, is that the center of the population explosion lies in the underdeveloped world, where the application of modern medical knowledge to public health programmes is causing dramatic reductions in death rates. On the basis of the current U.N. estimates, I find that whereas the more developed countries confront a 64 per cent increase in their population between 1955 and 2000, the comparable figure for the underdeveloped countries on three continents is 168 per cent, which means a rate of increase higher than 2 per cent a year.

26. While the Secretariat warns against giving weight to the country figures which are subordinate to the regional and world totals, regarded as more reliable, the country figures help to visualize the population explosion. Here are a few, based on the "medium" assumption, namely that birth rates will decline after 1975:

	1955	1975	2000
		(millions)	
Egypt	23	38	74
Nigeria	31	42	68
Mexico	30	53	111
Brazil	59	102	213
Ceylon	9	14	25
India	386	563	1,000
Pakistan	83	128	228
Indonesia	82	122	217
China	600	894	1,590
Korea	29	43	76

27. The mounting pressures of population in the less developed world, reflected in such estimates, argue strongly that the tempo of development and scope of assistance at least in the densely populated countries, are quite unrealistic in terms of meeting the needs. The technical possibilities for greatly enlarging the food and power supplies of such countries, much less the requirements of a genuine population policy, here have hardly begun to be reckoned with at the intergovernmental level. A sensible approach to a strategy of international development remains to be fashioned.

HOW THE INDUSTRIAL STATES CAN GIVE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO

THE CHANGING COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

by

Hans-Eberhard Vollert

The technical assistance which the industrial states give to the countries undergoing rapid change must be concentrated particularly on creating and encouraging a middle-class on a sound economic basis, as this skilled middle-class is at present almost completely lacking. The mistakes made in carrying out previous development projects have certainly been caused by attempting to by-pass certain phases of development through which the modern industrial states have passed. With very few exceptions these attempts will always fail; they are only justified in the case of raw-material industries. It is true, an attempt must be made to pass through these phases of development rapidly. This will enable the countries in question to develop sufficiently to form trade connections with the industrial countries within the not-too-distant future.

The young states of Asia and Africa, and also the countries of Central and South America which are capable of development, completely lack a good stock of craftsmen and skilled workers, who have been trained to produce consumption goods of good quality. Hence technical assistance will have to concentrate on the training of craftsmen and technical workers, by opening training centres. The people trained in this way are bound to develop into a solid middle-class, with whose help it will bo possible to build up small-scale and medium-scale industry. In these industries the skilled worker will find a secure job. There must be an organic growth from craftsmen and small-scale industry before a solid basis can be built for large-scale industry. A large-scale enterprise such as a textile factory with 50,000 or more spindles, a chemical factory with thousands of workers, or factory for making special machines, cannot work on a rational basis unless there is a supply of well-trained and experienced technical workers. But these technical workers must first be created by systematic training, and one of the finest tasks of the industrial countries must be to assist the developing countries to train them. Beyond a doubt, this is an ethical task which is incumbent upon the industrial countries.

An attempt must undoubtedly be made at the same time to awaken the social conscience of the ruling classes in these countries, for these skilled workers and their families cannot go on living in miserable mud huts with no protection against disease, no provision for their old age, and no outlook for the future. The governments of the under-developed countries must be made to start savings-banks, and must win the confidence of the population in such projects by strict honesty in banking. These projects for saving and investment must draw in the money available in the countries themselves. The industrial enterprises and banking institutes, etc. in the under-developed countries must lose the character of a milk-jug on which the cream is reserved for a small privileged class. Although it may be exceedingly difficult, the attempt must be made to influence the constitution of the ruling classes in these feudal states, so as to prevent creating social tensions.

After creating a sound class of skilled workers, the second phase can begin, in which the industrial countries give economic aid to the under-developed countries. By granting cheap long-term credits for setting up small-scale and medium-scale

industry to the governments of the under-developed countries, the industrial states
can give the technical workers in the backward countries opportunities to enlarge
their workshops, buy machinery and thus produce more consumer goods. The industrial
states will only be able to help the backward countries if they grant them economic
as well as technical assistance. Many people may regard this as an unjust sacrifice
today; but it will prove a blessing to the whole of humanity in future.

The training of craftsmen and the increased production of consumer-goods must
be accompanied by the modernisation of agriculture in order to form a class of con-
sumers with adequate purchasing power. In most countries the development of agricul-
ture must be preceded by land-reform. It goes without saying that we, as Christians,
reject revolution as an instrument of change. Christians must always hold fast to
the conviction that it can never be the task of a religious community to interfere in
the internal affairs of any country. We can only advise the classes now ruling those
countries. Our advice will be to adopt the sliding scale in tenancy agreements, where
by the amount paid annually will depend on the harvest produced. We must also advise
a considerable reduction in the leases. A farmer is only interested in producing
more if most of the profits flow into his own pocket. At the beginning of each year
he must always know the exact amount of the interest on the lease, so that he can
calculate and plan his farm accordingly. In the countries with irrigation the govern-
ments must be advised to take the water-rights out of the hands of individuals (who
today usually charge the farmers exorbitant sums for the water) and place it under
the control of irrigation-companies, whose members may only be beneficiaries.

In these countries most of the population are farmers. The market for consumer-
goods can only be enlarged by increasing the purchasing-power of the agricultural
population, thus giving the future class of skilled industrial workers the opportu-
nity to enlarge their small factories so that they can gradually develop into an
industry. The governments should be advised not to control the new industries
themselves, nor to place them in the hands of a few wealthy people. For their sole
desire is only to increase their own fortune; most of them are completely indifferent
to the well-being of the community.

The second and equally important means of increasing agricultural production
is to train young farm labourers in agricultural schools, and to give advice to the
farmers and farm-owners. The methods hitherto applied in agriculture must be improved
and the peasants must gradually be persuaded (gently and without big outlay of
capital) to use better and more modern farming methods. The effect of trying to by-
pass whole phases of development has a more disastrous effect on agriculture than on
any other branch of industry. It would take us too far to examine the reasons in
detail; but everyone who has to give advice on agriculture in backward countries
makes this experience, sooner or later. Getting peasants to adopt more modern
methods of farming involves more than merely replacing the scythe by the machine-
mower-and-thresher.

What should therefore be done in order to give the backward countries the
technical assistance which they need, and which it is our duty to give them,
without demanding or expecting anything in return?

Schools for apprentices must be set up, like those started by the German
Federal Republic in the sphere of industry. The teachers - at any rate for the
first three-year course- will be Germans. At the same time native students are
being trained as teachers in Germany. If the time for training them proves too

short, then the German teachers must stay on longer in the country. The equipment of schools for apprentices has been the cause of many headaches. On the other hand they must be trained to use the machines and implements already available in the country, with which they will have to work after they have passed their examination, and which they will be in a position to purchase if they start an independent business of their own. Only then will they be able later on in life to get a general view of industry, as is essential if they are to make their way and become useful members of their country.

In order to develop an industry in raw materials, the industrial countries must carry out geological, hydrographic and other research in the backward countries. The industrial states should, as a matter of course, give their financial support to the development of an industry in raw materials in the backward countries. This support should, of course, be given in such a way, that security is guaranteed for the capital invested. But on no account must the enterprise be under the tutelage of the foreign investors. Native and foreign investors must cooperate in the backward countries as equal partners.

Young native farmers must be trained in agricultural schools. At these training must be given in better methods, including the use of such machines and implements as appear essential for increasing production. The teachers from abroad will have other responsibilities besides education; they will also act as advisers in the neighbouring villages. During the first years this advice will consist mainly in protecting plants against diseases and pests, vetinerary work, inoculation against disease and the elimination of vermin, in order to win the confidence of the people quickly. These methods will yield quick results and the land will produce more, both in crops and in livestock. But if there is to be a general improvement in production, the best of the native farmers must gradually be trained as agricultural advisers, so that with their help a huge network of agricultural advisers will exist all over the country, in course of time.

The purpose of the technical assistance is to build up a well-balanced national economy in course of time, which will form a valuable part of the economy of the world. The produce of agriculture must be increased, so that the masses of the people are better fed all over the world; raw materials must also be grown which can be exported either in the form of raw materials, or semi-manufactured or fully-manufactured goods. By training craftsmen and skilled workers, a middle-class created which will later on be able to industrialise the country on its own initiative and by its own efforts, and which will provide the highly-qualified skilled workers needed when the economy has become industrialised. We must strongly advise against hasty large-scale industrialisation which does not include a middle-class of this kind -- apart from the production of raw materials and the provision of electricity.

As Christians we cannot shirk the duty which is incumbent upon us, of giving technical assistance to the developing countries. It is true, much still remains to be done in our own countries in the sphere of home missions; but we must never forget that the Christian message is a message of sacrifice and love. Our co-operation must never be "mission work" in the traditional sense. It is our duty to hand over our surpluse to the under-developed countries, to place our technical knowledge, our experience and our expert research at their disposal, and help them to make up for lost time (and it was partly our fault that the time was lost). We must be very modest, however, in approaching this task, for an attitude of

superiority on our part would only prove harmful to ourselves. All this technical help must be given in a form which is completely disinterested; it must also avoid anything which might hurt the pride of these countries, many of which have very old cultures.

THE SPECIFIC EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITIES IN RELATION TO AFRICA AND ASIA

REPORT FROM A EUROPEAN ECUMENICAL
CONSULTATION

ODENSE, DENMARK, AUGUST 8-11, 1958

PREFACE

The Department on Church and Society of the World Council of Churches, in collaboration with various European Church groups, held a consultation, August 1958, on *The Specific European Responsibilities in Relation to Asia and Africa*. This four-day consultation, which met in Odense, Denmark, and was attended by 70 persons, including theologians, missionary leaders and lay persons, formed part of the current ecumenical study on Rapid Social Change. A large group of Christians from Africa and Asia participated in these discussions and a group of American church leaders also participated as observers. The chairman of the meeting was Professor E. de Vries, rector of the Institute for Social Studies, The Hague, and chairman of the Working Committee of the Department on Church and Society.

The consultation gave its attention on the following subjects:

1) *The European Church and the political involvement of Europe in Asia and Africa*. This included an analysis of the transition from colonialism to new political relationships and the role of European churches and missions in the present situation. Three European laymen active in European political and overseas affairs (Dr. Patijn of Holland, Mr. Bonnal of France and Mr. Doig of Britain and Nyasaland) presented interpretations of the present political relations between Europe and the countries of Asia and Africa. Five European missionary workers (the Rev. P. Benignus of France, Professor H. Gensichen of Germany, the Rev. K. Mackenzie of Scotland, Mr. van Randwijk of Holland and Mr. H. Witschi of Switzerland) presented papers on the role of missions in the relations between Europe and Asia and Africa. Following these presentations there were reactions and comments from participants from Asia and Africa.

2) *The social and cultural impact of Europe upon Asia and Africa through education, literature, the cinema, and through European social ideologies and industrial techniques*. This topic was presented by Dr. Busia, professor of sociology from Ghana, Dr. M. Takenaka, professor of Christian ethics from Japan, Father Makary, priest of the Coptic Church from Egypt, and the Rev. D. Ralibera, pastor from Madagascar, following which there were questions and comments from the side of the European participants. Interest focussed especially on the problems of cultural and spiritual conflict created by the rapid introduction of western techniques and cultural standards in areas of Asia and Africa.

3) *The ethical problems of European private enterprise in areas of rapid social change*. This included a discussion and critique of the policies of western private enterprise in Asia and Africa, and also a consideration of the assumptions underlying technological society, and its impact on non-technical cultures. Papers presented by Dr. P. Kuin, an economist from Holland, and Mr. John Wren-Lewis, a physical scientist from Britain.

4) *The responsibilities of Europe to provide developmental assistance to the countries of Asia and Africa*. This subject was presented by three experts on economic and technical assistance: Dr. E. de Vries of Holland; Mr. B. Niculescu of Ghana; and Dr. R. Fagley of the U.S.A. Discussion centered on the responsibility of the Churches in working for the expansion of such assistance.

While time did not permit more than an exploration of the issues involved, the consultation attempted in the closing sessions to summarize the main points raised in discussion. The result is the following statement which is being circulated to European churches and missions as a stimulus to further reflection on the role Europe plays in relation to the economic, political and social development of countries in Africa and Asia.

A full report on the conference, including addresses and a review of the plenary discussion is available from the Department on Church and Society, World Council of Churches, 17 route de Malagnou, Geneva, Switzerland. Inquiries and comments on this statement are welcome.

CONSULTATION ON SPECIFIC EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITIES IN RELATION TO AFRICA AND ASIA

Odense, Denmark, August 8-11, 1958

I. Introduction

This conference met at a time of world ferment. People undisturbed for centuries are on the move. Following the world-wide impact of the West, social, political and economic changes are taking place in the under-developed countries at an extremely rapid rate. These changes are by far the most important events in the world today. The West has also known, and knows, something of these changes; they are common to humanity as a whole and are a common concern of all men. But what is happening in the under-developed countries is of such dimensions that we ignore it at our peril: people are being uprooted from their traditional rural ways; huge cities are growing rapidly in continents where urban life has been almost unknown; in many countries the population is growing at an unprecedented rate. In these and many other ways people in the world are being dislocated and disturbed.

The conference greatly benefited by the participation of a number of people from Asia, Africa and Latin America *. The openness and straight-forwardness with which they discussed many complex problems confronting their countries were profoundly appreciated, as was the active participation of many churchmen from the U.S.A. This document is not an official pronouncement of the World Council of Churches; it is a summary of the discussion that took place at the Odense Consultation. It is hoped that it may serve as a basis for further enquiry by the churches throughout Europe and other western countries.

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* This conference, was specially convened to deal with Asia and Africa, which includes the Middle East. But much of what is said applies also to Latin America and to under-developed areas in Europe. No particular limitation is implied in the frequent use of the term "Asia and Africa."

Similarly, the use of the phrase "under-developed countries" is merely for technical convenience.

II. Political Context

Europe is continually being made aware of the political upheavals that are one of the most obvious manifestations of the new era of liberation from age-old structures. She is brought up against these problems both in the context of her colonial policies and in the United Nations. There may be a temptation, however, to ignore the world-wide nature of the social, political and economic revolution that is taking place, and to concentrate attention merely on the particular interests which Europe can fairly claim, such as the purchase of Middle East oil, or on the limited responsibilities for her colonies or military commitments. It cannot be to Europe's long-term interests to ignore some of the most important forces at work in our world today. She will have to live in a world increasingly dominated by the emergence of new nations that do not accept her predominance in the way she has hitherto taken for granted.

Practical politicians have to take into account the balance between the immediate and obvious national interests of their country, and the long-term interests which may not be to its immediate advantage. But churches can rightly point to these long-term interests, and suggest that the narrow-mindedness, which ignores that we will have to live in satisfactory political and economic relations with the mass of mankind in the under-developed countries, is not merely wrong and unchristian, but also foolish. We must recognise that in the immediate past European countries have often neglected to take proper account of their long-term interests in the political, social and economic development of these countries, whether European colonies, ex-colonies or independent countries that are at similar stages of development. The churches need to examine more closely the relationship between the moral claims they often make, and the long and short term national interest of their countries.

In our conference practical politicians and others made very clear that the governments in Europe, as in every continent, have many responsibilities of very varied nature. The first concern of any government is naturally with the interests of its own citizens, and in particular with the defence of the country. It was strongly argued that we have to recognise that European governments are bearing very heavy burdens of armaments, which they regard as necessary at the present moment, in view of the relations between the Communist and non-Communist countries and other special commitments. These are regarded by some not merely as measures taken in their own interests, but also as being of general benefit to the world and humanity as a whole, even if this is not generally recognised or is disputed. Others

believe that Europe could rightly devote resources now used for defence to help in the development of the world.

Any concern with the European governments' responsibilities for "under-developed countries" must start with a recognition of their particular responsibilities for their nationals at home and abroad. We must recognise that we live in a world bedevilled by the tension between Communist and non-Communist countries. We must recognise that European countries have a wide range of concerns linked with, but outside the direct concern of, many under-developed countries, such as the Commonwealth links of Britain, or the Common Market and Free Trade Area in Europe. We must also take account of the dominating position of the United States in the political and economic fields, although we must beware of using American predominance as an alibi for the failure of Europe to do what it should.

Among the concerns peculiar to European countries are their colonial territories. Europeans in the conference were made aware of the view that Europe's main concern in the under-developed world in the past has been to provide for her own interests. Some feel it is only right that Europe should continue to use her resources to help these peoples to develop their own economies in their own interest, as in the past they have been developed to serve European interests.

Europe is faced with the fact that people in Africa and Asia are asking both for formal and real self-determination, and that governments in Africa and Asia are demanding full independence. It is paradoxical that this is happening at a time when European governments are learning to limit their formal and real independence, when they are ready to join integrated political and economic systems, and when people in Europe are realising that the desire for self-determination can easily turn into nationalist madness. Europeans often consider it their duty to warn non-Europeans of the dangers they themselves have experienced, and are irritated by what they consider unreasonable outbursts of exaggerated nationalism. Some speakers at the consultation described unequivocally their own sense of frustration when non-Europeans continue their alleged "anti-colonialist" actions and efforts long after all colonial power has been withdrawn. European Christians regret that the newly formed governments of Asia and Africa often seem to repeat mistakes which Europe made in the past, and that in an age when these mistakes may lead to much more dire consequences than formerly.

However it was argued that one has to be patient in an age of transition, and that perhaps the nationalist mania might be explained as symptomatic of an early stage of development.

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It was also argued that "nationalism" as applied to non-European peoples today means something different from nationalism in Europe. Non-European governments realise as well as do Europeans that unlimited sovereignty is nonsense in the atomic age. Europe may be at least partly responsible for seeming aggressiveness on the part of non-Europeans, as it may have been provoked by continuous frustration. It may be a special European responsibility to grant time so that the wounds of former frustration may heal. Moreover, a constructive European attitude can help the development of the constructive elements of nationalism.

Very often the "nationalist" professions of non-Europeans do not signify any desire for international self-assertion. The word "nationalism" is used to explain the desire for nationhood as one of the normal kinds of communal existence and as a constructive force in opposition to tribalism, narrow localism, or other forms of slightly enlarged egotism. Nationhood is understood as the means to bring self-seeking families, kinship-groups, regions, classes, castes, etc., to accept common social obligations. Very frequently nationhood outside Europe is not confined to a narrow linguistic group or a group claiming common descent, but rather to a larger unit, just as Europe herself forms the larger unit beyond the traditional territories of the European states. India or China or Western Africa cannot be compared to France or Germany or Sweden ; they are in the same category as Europe as a whole.

It ought to be a European responsibility to assist these nations in their growth, and not to deny them the right to territorial integration in larger units. True internationalism is perhaps not best served by an insistence on the status quo when artificial boundaries prevent sensible cooperation between neighbouring regions. Non-Europeans are sometimes afraid that their desire for nationhood may be thwarted when Europe interferes in favour of artificially created governments set up under European influence in regions that by nature and history might form part of a larger unit. During the consultation a report was given on Ghana's attempt to achieve nationhood within artificial frontiers. As these frontiers were drawn up to suit European convenience, this effort shows a rare amount of maturity that Europe has no right to expect as a matter of course. The "nationhood" concept is not a simple echo of European influences, not a mere reaction to European rule, or a belated effort to repeat what Europe did in the past, but much more often a responsible attempt to develop human potentialities in a common effort. African and Asian "nationalism" very often more nearly resembles the constructive features of the pioneering patriotism by means of which the American continent was developed.

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The so-called nationalism of Africa and Asia is different from European nationalism in another respect. It is often based less on the desire for mere prestige and more on economic urgency, and may therefore claim more justification. It often springs also from the people's desire to reform their own reactionary governments. It is, in that sense, more humane and human than some European nationalism. A condemnation of nationalism often seems to deny essential conditions of economic progress. European Christians, therefore, should be aware of their special responsibility when they pronounce judgement on nationalism in Africa and Asia, even though they may feel it necessary to point out the dangers to international cooperation of even constructive nationalism.

In practice, this means that European countries should be extremely sensitive to the dangers of clinging to positions of "responsibility," which they are no longer asked to undertake. They need to prepare the people for whom they are responsible to act on their own behalf. Paternalism is always a danger to colonial governments, as is the kind of unwillingness to "let go" of power that comes from fear that it may be misused by newly responsible peoples. We believe that the Christian view of freedom and responsibility that God gives to man is such that we have to learn by our own mistakes, and that others cannot bear our own burdens of responsibility for us. In the particular field of economic aid, a sensitiveness to the claims of emergent nationalities should make governments unwilling to impose on such aid conditions, either political or military, that might hinder the chief aim of helping the country to develop satisfactorily.

It is within this context that we have to consider the responsibilities of Europe. Perhaps the main one lies in the field of economic and technical aid. The world desperately needs capital and technicians from the West. It is not only a moral duty of the richer countries to contribute out of their wealth, but it is also in their own long-term interest, as we have argued, to contribute to the development of the poorer countries. The awareness of these mutual responsibilities should be one of the main bases of Western foreign policy. But in practice such moral responsibility to render economic aid comes up against a number of highly complex problems which must be taken into account.

III. Economic Cooperation

All the Western countries are in varying ways contributing out of their national resources to the aid of under-developed countries. But their contributions are tiny in relation to the vast needs of the world.

Though there are many under-developed countries which can make little use at the moment of large sums of capital, there are others, such as India, which have soundly based development plans, and where there is a desperate need for more foreign investment. At present the West is not contributing all the capital that could be fruitfully used in the development of the poorer countries.

The basic problem in the provision of economic aid is that of releasing resources that would otherwise be used in increasing home consumption, investment or government welfare services. (At this point we assume that the level of defence expenditure is given.) There has to be an excess of exports over imports in terms of goods and services. In general, we believe that it is not to the interest of the world that Europe should cut down its investment plans, and thus impoverish itself, in order to give aid abroad. The world's interest lies in increasing productive capacity for the benefit of everyone, in Europe and outside. But if resources are to be released from consumption, or from increases in consumption, either private savings must be mobilised or taxation must be increased. This is where the impact of economic aid hits the individual citizen of particular countries, and it is the Church's responsibility to make clear to its members and others what sacrifices will be involved.

A great deal of economic assistance goes from European countries in various forms: colonial development and welfare funds, contributions to international organisations such as the International Bank and the UN special agencies, bilateral agreements between particular countries, multilateral agreements such as the Colombo Plan, private investment in subsidiary factories, loans floated on stock exchanges, etc. All these may have a great deal to contribute. But in many, if not most, cases, we believe that whatever form they may take, they should preferably be on an international and multilateral basis. That is to say, it is usually undesirable that giving countries should act independently, and it is preferable that receiving countries should act cooperatively in making use of the aid, as in the case of Marshall Aid in Europe. It is also important that the receiving countries should be involved in the preparation of the plans for use of the aid.

Because of the complexity of the various channels of aid, it is often difficult for the ordinary man, and even the politician, to see what is happening as a whole and how large (or small) are the various programmes. Governments should therefore be pressed:

a) To make clear in as simple form as possible what actual contributions their countries are making to the common pool in all these various ways, and

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b) To work out a long-term policy for their contribution to the needs of the under-developed countries, either in the form of dedicating a percentage of their national incomes to this end (as has been part of the programmes of certain political parties, and as is the practice in the assessment of military contributions in NATO), or in some other form.

It is important that the Western countries, in their individual efforts and in common arrangements such as the Common Market, should not confine their attention to their directly related territories but should also take account of other independent countries which might properly be a joint European concern.

Governments need to explore whether there are not new ways in which funds might be mobilised to help their efforts — such as special taxes (tariffs) related to the development of the Common Market and Free Trade Area, or special voluntary loans that tap sources of savings not otherwise used for similar purposes. It is the responsibility of the churches to give full support to such developments and imaginatively to suggest new possibilities and ways of interesting their own members.

We believe that it is the responsibility of churches in Western Europe to press governments to be more ready to afford support and to mobilise public opinion to realise how inadequate are the various kinds of support that are being given. But churches should, at the same time, be ready to recognise the difficulties of governments and to accept the necessary consequences (e.g. perhaps higher taxes or a slower rate of expansion of social services at home). They have the responsibility to inform the public of the realities of the situation and all the complexities involved.

There is a necessary part to be played by private enterprise, and governments and public opinion must be ready to recognise this. It is probable that the activities of private firms could be more closely related to a total programme of economic assistance, and the nature of their responsibilities made clearer. Many firms working in the international field are fully responsible and aware of the impact of their operations, and would welcome such guidance and help from governments and public opinion. For example, it may be that comparatively small guarantees from governments may make private firms more ready to enter fields which are both important in the context of the whole world and also not suitable for private risk-capital without some governmental support.

While we recognise that there is a place for both private and governmental investment and aid, there may be some conflict between the form in which the lending country finds it most convenient to help and that in which the

receiving country most requires it. The right proportion of government and private funds, or loan and risk capital, for a developing country may not be the same as the proportion in which funds are in fact available. For this and other reasons, European countries cannot develop national policies independently of one another or of international agencies. There is a need for coordination to ensure that the various programmes are not incompatible. It is particularly desirable that European political preferences for private or government agencies should not prevent governments from looking at the needs of under-developed countries as objectively as possible.

We need to recognise that the fluctuations of commodity prices are often of the utmost importance to the under-developed countries, which may be depending upon the income received from a particular crop or mineral. Hence the need to develop schemes for stabilizing commodity prices, or their equivalent.

Governments can do a great deal through their general economic policies, to help or hinder the development of the rest of the world. The avoidance of inflation and deflation is relevant here, and in the formulation of trade policies, such as the tarifs in the Common Market area, the interests of the under-developed countries must not be ignored.

If Western governments have responsibilities, so have those of the receiving countries. If they misuse the aid received from Europe, they not only hurt their own countries, but they do damage to all other countries in a similar situation. If they are not ready to use constructively any aid that is offered, they cannot expect that they will continue to receive it. The claims on Europe are so great that it is in no one's interest that scarce resources, even those of the relatively millionaire countries, should be squandered. Those who press for greater generosity from Europe, and in particular the churches, should at the same time press for the utmost realism in the use of these resources and, for example, try to ensure that fair conditions are available for private enterprise, where it can rightly contribute to the common task.

IV. Human and Social Relations with Africa and Asia

As questions of economic policy cannot be decided simply by governments, management or experts, but are, to a certain extent, dependent on public opinion, it is a special responsibility of individual Christians in Europe to inform themselves as well as they can on economic facts in general and on the particular consequences of European economic actions for Africa and Asia. Europe was the first to develop economic activity without regard to its social effects. Today, therefore, Europeans should make a special effort to understand the human and social implications of economic actions.

Christians have a special responsibility to work for the humanisation of economic activities and to influence public opinion in all these fields.

Only if they accept this are they acceptable partners to the people of Africa and Asia, who have suffered particularly from the rapidly imposed separation of the economic sphere from the context of life in general. Africa and Asia are suffering from transition problems which have not yet been solved in Europe, although Europe has had a far longer period of modern economic and technical activity. The break-up of long-established rural society, in particular of the joint family, the introduction of a money economy, large-scale migration to towns or industrial regions, occupational specialisation and similar developments create difficulties for Africans and Asians quite similar to past and present difficulties existing for many Europeans. The economic, social, moral and spiritual frustrations of industrial society are common to Europe, Asia and Africa. It is our responsibility to make this clear, and to see that Africans and Asians are given the chance to recognise how their own problems are parallel to those of Europe. Guests from Asia and Africa must not only be shown Europe at her best, nor left to discover for themselves Europe at her worst, but given a truthful picture of European reality. If they are thus treated as mature people, it may be easier for them to see Europe with Christian understanding.

Understanding and respect for other people's difficulties is a special responsibility of those Europeans, technicians, advisers and other temporary visitors, as well as permanent settlers, business people and government servants, who go from Europe to Africa and Asia. Whatever they do as individuals may reflect on European Christianity as a whole.

Within Europe a special responsibility exists for everybody in a position of influence with modern means of mass communication. There ought to be a self-imposed rule for European Christians against violating the feelings of our brethren in Africa and Asia by thoughtlessness in the use of their names in films, newspapers, etc. Means of mass communication can, on the other hand, be used imaginatively to enlarge European understanding of, and concern for, Asian and African communities undergoing rapid social change.

Certain particular problems are more likely to arouse misunderstanding than general aspects of the situation and should, therefore, be handled with special care when Europeans talk or write about them. Leaving out the political controversies of our day, intergovernmental relations and all emotions aroused by the world "nationalism," the following spots seem to be especially sensitive :

a) The population problem. In many countries there is the serious danger that rapid population increase through improved health measures may swamp economic development. The seriousness of the population problem ought to be fully realised, but Europeans should strive to see it in its proper perspective. They ought not to ask simply for a restriction of non-European births, pointing out quite naively its necessity or even only its convenience. Population problems must be seen in the context of family organisation, of the standard of living, and of migration. Europe herself, by decreasing some of the natural risks of life, has contributed to the population problem in some parts of Asia and Africa. But she also has a special responsibility to face the political and economic questions connected with migration, in particular the questions of racial isolationism. Furthermore, she must realise that the population explosion happens in some regions only, and that generalisation on this point may do harm. Europeans ought to remember the "population explosion" that happened in their own continent only a short time ago. As to family planning, there is a need for thought to advance in Europe itself as well as in Africa and Asia. During the consultation, special attention was drawn to the report on this question presented to the Lambeth Conference.

b) The ideological conflicts arising from the spread of Communism. Europeans clearly see the danger that the expansion of Communism may lead to world domination by one great power or a bloc of powers, or rather a small group of men making use of a great power bloc, and they consider it their duty to prevent this. They also see the danger that a Communist society may violate the fundamental rights of man or that Communist systems may show no respect for human personality. Finally, they see that Communism itself claims to be atheist, and is accepted by many people as a surrogate religion. On these grounds there is a conflict between Christianity and Communism. But European Christians must realise that in some parts of Africa and Asia Communism is not seen in the same light. Communism often appears merely as a technique of planning, as a means of transforming an agricultural society into an industrial nation, or as a response to real or alleged exploitation and corruption, so that the existence of Communist states is not always felt to be a threat ; it may also appear as a balancing factor in international power politics. For this reason, European appeals to an anti-Communist solidarity are often not heeded. It is the responsibility of European Christians to base their appeals not on negative fears, legitimate as their governments' anxieties seem to be, but rather on positive hopes. Even

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if Europeans themselves see no chance of offering an alternative hope, but content themselves provisionally with wanting to maintain the existing situation, they should realise that Africa and Asia, or rather each country in Africa and Asia, look at Communism from its own specific angle and that in no case is anti-Communism enough.

c) Europeans ought not to get fixed ideas as to the paramount nature of their own needs. Their needs are as legitimate as those of everybody else, but no more so. Some European needs tend to assume the character of almost mythical obsessions, and it is a European responsibility to beware of this type of idolatry. (Oil is an example.)

Europeans often hurt the feelings of non-Europeans by a stubborn refusal to question many of their own traditional ideas in the light of the Christian message. They need to realise that, in the new world in which we live, many of these customary values may need revision or at least revaluation. We have in mind some of the topics which came up in our discussions, such as the rights of private property, fair profits, "legitimate" governments and others of special concern for the relations of Europe and under-developed countries.

All Europeans have a common obligation in these matters. It is not enough to establish a Common Market or other forms of economic, political and cultural cooperation in Europe. The special responsibility in relation to Africa and Asia is a common spiritual duty for Europeans. This implies understanding on the part of people without administrative responsibilities in Africa and Asia for their European fellow-nations who still have a special relationship with countries outside Europe. Whatever accusation is raised against them refers to all Europeans, because the citizens of countries without colonial commitments usually share more than fully in the advantages arising from political or economic colonialism. European responsibilities are the common responsibility of everybody in Europe. On the other hand, people with special links with countries in Africa and Asia should not hesitate to put this relationship on a broader basis, if that is in the interests of the overseas people concerned. During the consultation, attention was drawn to the advantages to be gained by recruiting Africans and Asians, and not only Europeans, as technical experts (mention was made of experienced Indians and Japanese, and of Ghana as a training-ground for civil servants). The same principle applies to Southern Europe. There, in a "transitional" climate, some of the difficulties connected with rapid social change could perhaps be avoided. (To quote an example given : Greece might be a better country for training Ethiopians than a country in Western Europe.)

European responsibilities in this field are only a special aspect of our general Christian responsibilities. Europe faces African and Asian questions as to whether its welfare state is good enough and can really meet the challenge of Communism. If European society is good, Africa and Asia want to share its benefits. If not, Christians must be ready to work for a better society.

V. Special Responsibilities of Churches and Missions

In our discussions at this conference we have sought especially to understand how the new political and social relations between Europe and the countries of Asia and Africa are challenging previous conceptions and practices of European churches and missions. We have been concerned specifically with the attitude of missions in this field.

It is perhaps commonplace nowadays to emphasise the total mission of the Church as against the work of the individual churches and missions, but the implications of this have not been adequately studied. In considering the message that the Church has to give and the work that it ought to undertake in the areas of rapid social change, adequate recognition has not so far been given to a strategic factor of the highest importance, namely the steady flow of men and women in both directions — from Europe into these areas and from them into Europe. Year after year hundreds of Europeans go to work in secular occupations of all kinds in the areas of rapid social change, compared with which the number of missionaries is a mere handful. At the same time there is the stream of students and other professionals coming to Europe for education, technical or vocational training and other occupations. Here is enormous human potential which is still virtually undeveloped by the Church. If "first things are to be put first," the churches and missions, both in Europe and the areas of rapid social change, must increasingly devote their energies and resources to the tasks which arise from this "heaven-sent" opportunity, even while recognising fully that many of these people have little link with the Christian Church. It follows therefore that the consideration of the various aspects of this situation should be given the highest priority in all our study programmes.

All this leads up to the general obligation for Europeans to take their encounter with brethren from Africa and Asia much more seriously. Rapid social change implies that many more students or trainees from Africa and Asia are coming to Europe than ever before. It is a fact that Christian congregations in many European countries have not yet done their duty toward them. They should not look at these brethren with patronising curiosity or use them as a means of financial exploitation or an object of their pedagogical

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urges, but offer them a common fellowship in European society. The "partnership in obedience" demanded from missionaries begins within Europe.

From the studies already undertaken, it is clear that governments are playing an ever increasing part in the economic, social and cultural development of their countries and that political movements usually associated with nationalism are attracting large numbers into their service and to their support. It seems to us to arise from the concept of total mission that while the churches and missions should insist on their essentially supra-national character, they should nevertheless encourage their people to undertake political and public work and should help and support those who do so in the almost unbearable tensions that arise for individual Christians involved in such activities.

In this scientific and technological aid great importance is attached to expertness, whether in scholarship, technical or other skills. Our responsibility toward the areas of rapid social change cannot be met unless the services of some of our best men and women are made available to them. Missions and churches should strive to improve the personal and professional quality of those they send overseas so that they may be more adequately equipped to cope with the complex problems caused by rapid social change. They should also endeavour to persuade men and women of the highest capacity in varied occupations to regard a period of work abroad as a possible part of their Christian vocation and service. It is a special responsibility of the churches to see that the fullest use is made of the enthusiasm of young people and that, when they offer their services, they do not meet with frustration.

Everything the churches and missions do must be based on accurate knowledge if it is to be effective. This requires a high degree of cooperation, consultation and constant communication at all levels, not only between Europe and areas of rapid social change but also between the churches and missions in the areas themselves. In this respect, the development of the East Asia Christian Conference is significant. In the work of the Church a total strategy is essential, but it is not worth much unless regional strategies and even local tactics are equally well contrived.

VI. Conclusion

As Christians we are concerned to see that all the human and natural resources of the globe are used to the glory of God and to the benefit of all men everywhere. All men and women in every country have a common

task in the development of the world. The participation of women and their complementary contribution to that of men in the complexities of rapidly changing societies was too big a subject to include in this discussion. Its importance was fully recognised, however, and future plans envisage such discussions in a world context. The development of America and Europe is the concern of Asia and Africa as much as the development of Asia and Africa is the concern of Europe and America. It is in these terms of common partnership that as Christians we look at the economic help that is going from Europe to Asia and Africa. It is because we believe that Europe is not doing enough, in view of its tremendous responsibilities and its riches, which are fantastic when seen from the viewpoint of Asia and Africa, that we believe the churches should press harder for more aid and more costly action by Western governments. Within a country the welfare of all the inhabitants is the basic tenet of modern society. The same principle is beginning to be applied in the international sphere. We believe that this is a true recognition of the realities of God's creation.

If Christians have to press for more costly action, they have also to be ruthlessly realistic. It is no use to deny the need for Europe to expand its investment in its home industries, it is pointless to deny the serious economic difficulties that most European countries have to face, and the pressing dilemmas of foreign policy in the days of the Cold War. The churches have to admit that for their part they have often not been realistic or constructive in their recommendations that governments follow idealistic policies. They have been painfully inadequate in the education of their members in their responsibilities. But we believe that Christians can be made aware of these problems, and would be ready to support much more radical policies than have hitherto been followed, and to back their governments in pressing them forward. It is as a contribution to this programme of education and enlightenment that these suggestions are offered.